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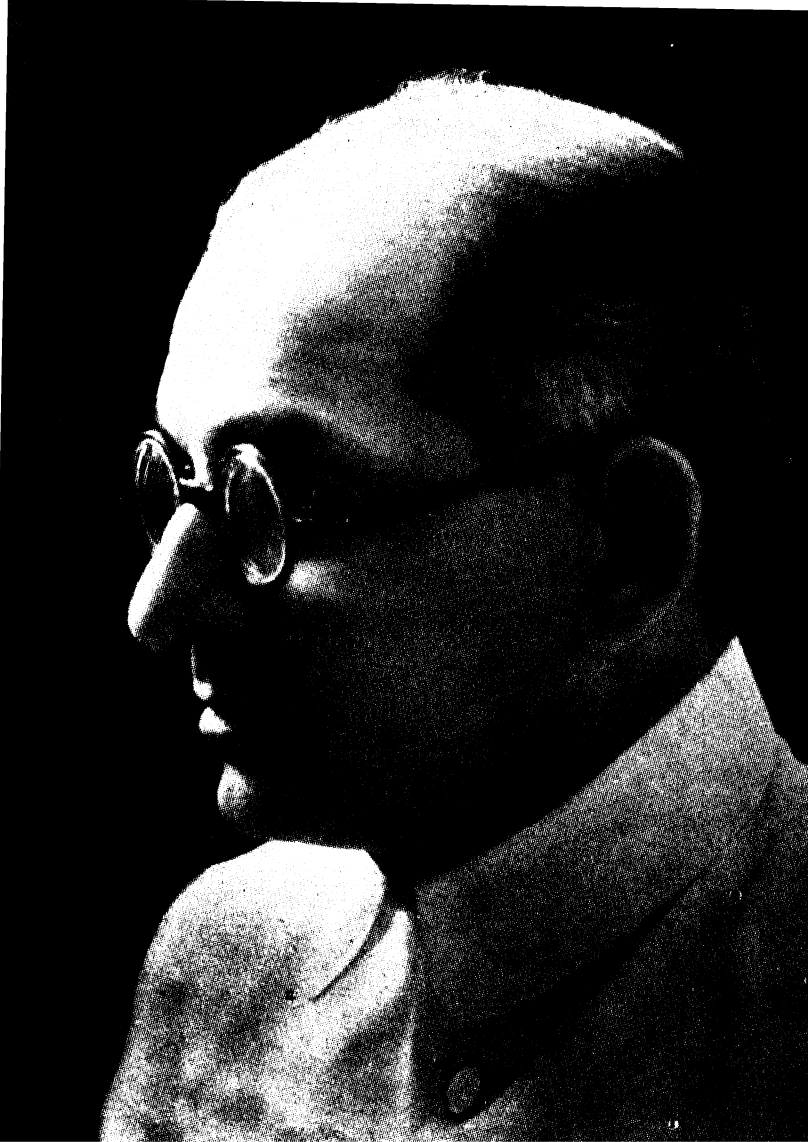
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(contd. on cover page 3)



SHRI MUNSHIJI

श्रीमुन्शीजिमहोदयानां षष्ठ्यब्दप्रवेशमनेत्सवे उपहारीकृतानि पद्यानि ।

प्रोफेसर—जयन्तकृष्ण ह. दवे, महामात्र.

श्रीविक्रमार्कनृपतेः समयादतीते
वर्षेर्ध-वेदे-निधि-चन्द्र-मिते च वर्षे ।
पौषे दिवा शृगुपुरे शृगुपूर्णिमायां
मुन्शीजि-जन्म सदने द्विजभार्गवाणाम् ॥ १ ॥
'माणिकलाल'-इति तस्य पितुः प्रसिद्धिः
'तापीबहेन'-जननी, सुत एक एव ।
ते भारतेऽद्य सकले 'मुन्शी कनैया-
-लाले'ति लब्धयशसो विविधैः प्रकारैः ॥ २ ॥
राज्येऽधिकारिपदमस्य पितुस्तदाऽऽसीद्
बाल्यं गतं 'शृगुपुरे' 'सुरता'दिवासे ।
विद्यागमस्तु नगरेऽस्य 'वटप्रदा'ख्ये
लब्धाऽन्तिमा च पदवी नवधर्मशास्त्रे ॥ ३ ॥
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वक्ता परार्थमभवद् व्यवहारविज्ञः ।
लब्ध्वा यशः प्रतिपदं गुणवत्तयाऽसौ
जातोऽग्रणीर्नयविदां प्रथितः समर्थः ॥ ४ ॥
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उच्चावचानि विपुलान्यपि निर्मितानि
लोकप्रियाण्यपि बहुश्रुतसत्कृतानि ॥ ५ ॥
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विश्रम्भ-रूढिविमुखत्व-पटुत्व-युक्ताः ।
प्राधान्यतोऽस्य पुरुषा उत नायिका वा
तैरस्मिता'ऽस्ति घटिता नवगुर्जराणाम् ॥ ६ ॥
'मुञ्जाल'-'काक'-'जमदग्निसुता'श्च 'मुञ्जः'
'लोपा'ऽथवा 'मिनल'-'तन्मन'-'मञ्जरी' वा ।

पात्रेषु ते विलिखिता अपि मूर्तिमन्तः
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 संवर्धिता विरचिता विविधाश्च संस्थाः ।
 या भारतीयभवनस्य यशोऽभिवृद्धिः
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 सच्छिष्यो रामकृष्णः सकलजनमतो गांधिजिर्वारविन्दः
 तेषां आशीरमोघा वितरतु वरदा वार्तमायुर्यशोऽस्य ॥ ११ ॥

शुक्र १५ वि. सं. २००३

भा. वि. भ. मुम्बापुरी

I LOOK BACK

[*Being the reply of Shri K. M. Munshi to the felicitations given at his Diamond Jubilee Celebrations held at the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, under the Presidentship of Sheth Pranlal Devkaran Nanji, Chairman, Dena Bank, on Paus' Suddh 15, S. Y. 2003, (January 7, 1947) his sixtieth birthday.*]

I don't know really how to thank you. If I was speaking on something other than myself, if I was addressing a court about other people's affairs, if I was combating some one or something, I would have a lot to say. But I am crushed under the weight of your affection. The most appropriate medium of thanks for me would have been *mauna*; but my silence has not the positive eloquence of a mute sage; I must, therefore, rest content [with such speech as I can command.

You say that I have reached my sixtieth year. It may be right. But I feel today as much a beginner as when I began. Like a rolling stone, which gathers no moss, I have gathered no knowledge, no experience, no wisdom; but unlike the stone, I have gathered friends, a large accumulation of them. And I thank God for it.

One of the volumes of my autobiography I have styled "*The Steep Climb*". The whole of my life has been a steep climb; a weak childhood to a tolerably good health at 60; from an eating house costing Rs. 5/- a month, to a comparative luxury; from complete obscurity to some recognition; from inability to express two sentences to about half a hundred volumes in every branch of prose. But God has been great; I have climbed, no doubt strenuously, but laughing, playing, running; sometimes stumbling. On the way I have picked up flowers; and every morn has brought me new joy.

I have ceaselessly fought frustration, despair, inertia. I have fought every philosophy of life which I considered false. I gained success, but I was never happy with it. I made money, but I could not remain satisfied by making it all the time. I was popular in 1930; over a hundred thousand men came to receive me at the Victoria Terminus. I have been unpopular; critics have called me a traitor to the country and to Gandhiji—the one Master whose affection and confidence I have cherished more than most things in the world. My writings have been admired and condemned.

I am curiously made. I am indifferent to praise or blame. When people talk about me, I generally feel in the words of a motto on a college in Scotland: "They have said. What did they say? Let them say." But it is not the result of vanity; this attitude has been acquired by me by a long and strenuous struggle. In the words "indifferent to praise or censure" used by Shri Krishna, I have always found the greatest of all strength.

I have been like most men, concealing thoughts, often acting contrary to what I thought proper. But since the earliest day my memory can go back to, I have hated divergence between thought, word and deed. A mysterious stream of faith and enthusiasm has arisen only in those few blissful moments when I found unity between them. Then only did I feel that there was no defeat over which I could not triumph, no sorrow over which I could not soar.

But it was hard, ceaseless struggle to achieve a little of this unity. I yearned for strength and courage; and I was weak, sensitive and timid. I wanted my words to be like burning shafts; and I was shy, diffident, unable to speak well. I wanted hungering, all-absorbing love; and the life around me furnished no scope. I wanted that my Motherland should be powerful; and I found her sons enslaved. I yearned to be a *Rishi* as my forbears were, and I was no more than a little Brahmin boy fastened to a fossilized religious and social groove.

And like a child trying to catch the moon I struggled to project my world of imagination into reality. I yearned; I dreamt; I cried and struggled; at times I tried to kill myself; and I worked. I was not a philosopher, nor a man of great intellect. My heart only had passionate longings and my soul was full irrepressible tumult. Through vast foolish programmes of self-development, through laborious efforts to become what I called "the incessant wheel of work", through creative works of fiction, through childish efforts at crudely practised *Yoga*—I tried to bring unity to my imagination, word and reality; and naturally I made a mess of myself.

Through this mess Something led me on. That Something was unattainable and yet roused high enthusiasm. Napoleon's deeds, Dayānanda's fiery gospel, S'rī Aravind's prophetic vision threw light on this Something. Oft, it took the shape of a phantom, beauteous maid—a vision of beauty. And the beauty and strength which I missed in real life, I tried to create by imagination; and thus I gave them life in words. My passing experiences became piquant situations. My problems became heroes and heroines. My unspoken sentiments found a voice in their speech. *Tanman* was my vision of beauty; *Manjari* of *Gujaratno Nath* was its grown up shape.. *Jagat*, *Kak*, *Muchkund*, *Prithvi Vallabha*, were the imaginary solutions of the problems I was struggling with. I was kicked by reality—the problem of poverty, the difficulty of making way in this hideous city of ours—and was shaped by it. *Sudarshana* had a vision of the Mother as I wanted her to, free, and powerful, the mother of nations; his disillusionment at the end was a cry of despair which came from my heart.

On the one hand my imagination persisted in giving shape to my experience and yearnings. On the other hand that Something impelled me by stern self-discipline in endurance and concentration—*titiksha* and *dhyāna*. I tried to co-ordinate the two. The two words were remote from each other; and the welding efforts were too weak and childish. Naturally I failed.

I gave myself up to writing romances and romantic plays. I almost gave up the effort at attaining unity of thought, word and deed. But *Yogasūtra* was there—my sacred recital day and night—practised mostly for worldly ends. Then I studied *Mahābhārata*, this mighty Book of Life. It was in 1922, and I was shaken out of the self-complacency of a successful lawyer and author.

That Something that was leading me on became a Pillar of Fire, though shrouded in smoke. Suddenly, as if under its magic influence, the vision of Beauty came into life. My dream became a reality and was yet more unattainable than a dream. Through those years of trial and torture, and with the aid of whatever little training I had in *Yoga*, I summoned all my powers to prevent the unattainable Beauty that had come to life again to vanish into an empty dream. The dream became a reality, unexpectedly, with appalling abruptness. In those moments of realization, two Truths, so fundamentally woven in the Aryan Culture, which I had never seen so realistically, stood before my dazed eyes.

My individual nature alone prescribed my way of life ; to pursue this way of life is the law of my being ; any other law for me is false and fraught with fear ; to be ready to die every minute to fulfil this law of life was my self-realization.

The other Truth which I saw once for all rent for me the curtain which separated creative Art from creative Life. When my concentration on any object or experience was steadfast, vivid and intense, to the elimination of my consciousness of being myself, it became creative ; and creation followed.

Shri Krishna and Patañjali, the great Masters, had taught these Truths to the world. It was given to me, a humble, worldly man, to capture in a little way their secrets in actual life. The vision of Beauty which I had intensely yearned became a living Reality.

The Pillar of Fire was assuming definite shape as it led me on. It enveloped me often ; at some rare moments it lifted me out of myself. Invariably, it destroyed the mists of sorrow and defeat and led me from darkness unto light.

The Pillar began to take shape. For a moment, it took the shape of Gandhiji. I saw, how the Truths which I had captured had come to life in him. Then one evening, under stress of highly charged imagination, I saw the Pillar of Fire in its blazing glory—just for a few moments. Its radiance blinded me. But in that moment my faith in Aryan Culture was reinforced million-fold.

In its light I felt I understood the secrets of s'rī Aravind and Gandhiji, of Aryan Culture as an eternal, overarching phenomenon of life. Truth—compactness of word, thought and deed,—stood revealed as but a step to the Absolute Integration of Human Personality attained through a stern adherence to the Law of Moral Causation on which the order of Universe was structured.

But to understand a thing is one thing ; to concentrate on it is different ; to realise it by creative concentration is quite different and immensely more difficult—so, so difficult.

I have tried to understand the phenomenon of Aryan Culture ; its spread, its trials, its triumphs, its eternal power. My English works *Gujarata and Its Literature*, *The Aryans of the West Coast*, *The Imperial Gurjaras*, *Creative Art of Life*, and *Bhagvadgītā and Modern Life*, are but feeble attempts at studying the phenomenon. During this period, my imagination threw up Agastya, Vasishṭha, Vishvāmītra and Parashurāma—the embodiments of dynamic unity ; Lopāmudrā and Lomaharshīnī, free, triumphant women, man's equal and inseparable ; and their gigantic struggles to translate their personality into a world culture which is destined to survive till the end of life. I know the picture is but faint, inartistic embodiment of what I saw. How I wish I had the creative touch of a master artist—a Vyāsa, a Homer, a Phedias, a Michel Angelo !

The Pillar of Fire has led me on in active life, often without my knowing it. Building up a tradition of law and order, the spread of the gospel of Akhand Hindustan, the constructive effort which has culminated in the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, and the little contributions towards restoring India to the free and mighty *Āryāvarta* of our dreams, are but the materialisation of an urge, which is not mine but only lent to me. I know not why things have happened so. Day after day I feel, as the old time *Bhaktas* felt, like a monkey's brat ; I am lifted by the Mother and carried wherever she wills, and am content to be so carried ; and I feel happy and joyous with a strength which is not mine.

But I know—I feel—I am of earth, earthy. Effective integration of personality, without which great creation is not possible, is not for one like me. Attachment, fear and wrath have not been easy for me to control, much less to subdue. You say I have achieved something ; but I know I have achieved nothing. I have tried to keep my gaze fixed on the Pillar of Fire, now distinct, now enveloped in a phosphorescent haze, and now and again lost in a cloud. I have done nothing ; my endeavours are but the crude passing expression of the Radiance through the weak vehicle which I know I am.

ARE SKANDAGUPTA AND PURUGUPTA IDENTICAL?

By Prof. JAGAN NATH

The discovery of the Bhitari Seal of Kumāragupta in 1889 raised many interesting problems, one of which was the relation which the two names Skandagupta and Purugupta bear to each other. While editing the seal, Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle emphatically denied the idea of the identity of the two names in the following words:—"It seems hardly probable that in such genealogies the same person would be called by different names. The probability, as I shall show further on, would seem to be that Purugupta is a younger brother of Skandagupta and succeeded the latter who died without an issue". However, later on Hoernle gave up this opinion, and suggested that Skandagupta and Purugupta were identical. The reason for the change of view has been set out as follows:-the Buddhist writer Paramārtha, who was practically a contemporary of the events he relates in his 'Life of Vasubandhu', apparently makes Bālāditya (i. e. Narasimhagupta) to be the immediate successor of Vikramāditya (i. e. Skandagupta) and ignores altogether the existence of Purugupta. The only conclusion that one can draw from that circumstance is that the two names Skandagupta and Purugupta neither of which occurs in Paramārtha's work belong to the same person whom Paramārtha only mentions by the title of Vikramāditya". But these considerations which influenced Dr. Hoernle's decision and induced him to propose the identification, are not really so weighty as to necessitate the identification. Vikramāditya is not the title of Skandagupta only, but it was also borne by Purugupta, and it occurs on his coins³. Therefore, there is no conflict between the statement of Paramārtha, and the Bhitari seal. Bālāditya (Narasimhagupta) is actually the son of Vikramāditya (Purugupta).

The discovery of the Sarnath inscriptions of Kumāragupta dated Gupta Saṃvat 154, and of Budhagupta dated G. S. 157, provided some further grounds in favour of the identification, as otherwise very short periods of rule would have to be assigned to Purugupta,

1 JASB, Vol. 58 (1889), p. 93.

2 JBAS, 1909, pp. 128-29

3 Catalogue of the coins of the Gupta Dynasties, p. 134. For a criticism of the view of Mr. S. K. Saraswati, see below.

Narasimhagupta and Kumāragupta⁴. The objections were only met by R. D. Banerji and Panna Lal who emphasised that the identification was impossible on numismatic grounds⁵. After these discussions there was a consensus of opinion that Skandagupta and Purugupta were two different rulers. Recently Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has expressed a view which necessitates a re-examination of the problem. Dr. Bhandarkar has remarked, "There was a time when Mr. Allan's reading of the name Puragupta on some coins held the field. But Mr. Sarsi Kumar Saraswati has correctly pointed out that the name is not Puragupta but Budhagupta."⁶

However, the reading on the Hoey specimen is definitely Pura and it can never be Budha. Mr. Saraswati says that the upper letter has 's horizontal top stroke, and is, therefore, *b* and not *p*.' But we should see whether the horizontal top stroke is a mere top-mark made inordinately long or it is the upper bar of the square of *b*. A careful examination will reveal that it is thicker at the left end. It is, therefore, evidently a top-mark, which has been lengthened. There are numerous examples of such lengthening and the consequent resemblance of *p* with *b* in the Gupta inscriptions, e. g. in lines 20-21 of the Allahabad Stone Pillar inscription of Samudragupta, in lines 1, 3, 6 and 7 of the Eran Boar inscription of Toramāṇa, in lines 7 and 10 of the Mandasor inscription dated 493 and 529, Malara Samvati, and in line 7 of the Mandasor Pillar inscription of Yaśodharman etc. Allan was perfectly right in taking it as *p*. Now let us examine the lower letter. It has clearly got a top-mark, unless we are prepared to connect it with the upper letter and take it as the horizontal bar of the medial *u*.

But even in that case it will go against Mr. Saraswati's view, for in Budha we require a short *u*. A long *u* can better fit in the name Putu. However, the small bar is really a top-mark. In *dh* of the 4th and 5th centuries—to which period the coin evidently belongs—no top-mark is to be found. It is purely a cylindrical form. Secondly what Mr. Saraswati has taken as the right hand curve of *dh* is really a part of letter of the 'degenerated' marginal legend. Therefore, with no stretch of imagination we can make the letter a *bh*. It is plainly a vertical line with a top mark and therefore a clear *r*. The name on the coin is, therefore, Pura (ru) as read by

4 of. R. C. Majumdar, /A, 1918, P. 165.

5 ABORI, I; pp. 73-75, Hindustan Review, 1918.

6 IC, XI, P. 231

7 IC, I, P. 691.

Allan, and the numismatic evidence relied upon by R. D. Banerji and Panna Lal still holds the field.⁸

We may go a step further and say that even if the coins attributed to Pura (ru) gupta by Allan, may be ascribed to Budhagupta, the case for the identification still remains very weak. How are we going to explain the occurrence of the name of Purugupta on the official seals on the one hand, and of Skandagupta in the inscriptions and coins on the other. The seals of Narasimhagupta, and Kumāragupta do not mention Skandagupta's name while the inscriptions from the year 136 to 148 are absolutely silent about Purugupta. Hoernle rightly observed that, 'it seems hardly probable that in such genealogies the same persons would be called by different names'. The case of Candragupta II is hardly a parallel. It stands on a distinctly different footing. It is only in the Vākātaka records that we find his name Devagupta. In all Gupta genealogies and on his own coins the name is uniformly given as Candragupta or in the abbreviated form Candra.

Another argument frequently relied upon by the present protagonists of the identification is the occurrence of the expression *padamudhyata* with the name of Purugupta. It is contended that *padamudhyata* was used only where the succession was immediate, as a different expression—*tatpada-parigrhīta* has been employed in the case of Candragupta II, who was not the immediate successor of his father Samudragupta⁹. However, this contention is neither borne out by epigraphic nor by literary usage. Literally *parigrhīta* and *anudhyata* convey the same meaning, i. e. 'favoured'.¹⁰ If any distinction is sought to be made it will go against those who uphold the identification on this ground. *Parigrhīta*, also means 'consented to', 'admitted', 'accepted', and its use with the name of Candragupta would show that he was the nominee of Samudragupta, and, therefore, his immediate successor, which he actually was not. In the inscriptions also we find the expression *padamudhyata* used for persons other than immediate successors. For example in the Bengal Asiatic Society Plate of Vinayakapāla, dated V. D. 981, he is described as the *padamudhyata* both of his father Mahendrapāla and

8 It should also be noted that Hoey coin is not the only known coin to Purugupta. Mr. R. D. Banerji has referred to two other coins in Private Collections at Gaya. ABORI, I, pp. 73-75.

9 Cf. Krishna Dev, EI. XXVI, pp. 237-38.

10 On this point there has been a controversy between Drs. D. C. Sircar and B. K. Ghosh in the Indian Culture, but the literary references from Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti, clearly support Dr. Sircar's view.

his brother Bhojadeva whom he had actually succeeded. Now we find here, that although Vinayakapāla was not the immediate successor of his father Mahendrapāla, but came to the throne some years later after the reign of Bhojadeva, he is still described as Mahendrapāladeva-pada-mudhyatah. Therefore the use of the phrase *padamudhyata* with the name of Purugupta does not make him the immediate successor of Kumāragupta I and for that reason identical with Skandagupta¹¹.

Mr. Krishna Dev refers to the evidence of the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa where the S. initialled (Skandagupta) is called vividhākhyah (having many names), and his successor is Bālākhyā (i. e. Bālāditya). As Bālāditya is the son of Purugupta according to the seals, and of S according to the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa Mr. Krishna Dev presumes that Purugupta and S (kandagupta) must be identical. But the evidence of the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa is open to several objections. Firstly, it calls Bālākhyā (or Bālādhyakṣa according to some MSS) as the younger brother (anuja) or successor of S and not his son. Secondly, if Purugupta was another name of Skandagupta, it must have been more well known than his other names because we find it used in the official seals. But the Muñjuśrīmūlakalpa does not at all seem to be aware of this name. It mentions instead the name Devarāja. Had Purugupta been another name of Skandagupta the author of the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa would not have omitted it and even Devarāja. Moreover the account of the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa is neither exhaustive nor accurate. It does not mention Budhagupta who was certainly a grandson of Kumāragupta I and ruled shortly after Skandagupta from 157 to 176 G. Ś. It knows nothing about Rāmagupta, Vainyagupta or Viṣṇugupta. It is too much to believe with Mr. Krishna Dev that U-initialled king of Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa is Viṣṇugupta. According to Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, U stands for Būdha-gupta. The text of the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa is so obscure and unreliable that it is not fit to be made the basis of sound historical conclusions. We can understand its account only in the light of the information obtained from the inscriptions. Any problems left unsolved by the epigraphic evidence cannot certainly be solved with the aid of a text of so uncertain value. It will be just like determining once unknown quantity with the aid of another unknown quality.

11 There is no difference in the import of the two phrases *padamudhyata* and *padapariṣṭhita*. The use of the latter with the name of Candragupta II is simply due to the choice of the clerk who first drafted the Gupta genealogy for Candragupta's records. Once the form was officially adopted, it was bound to become stereotyped in course of time.

A Fresh Interpretation of the words "Riṣṭika-Pitinika" of

As'oka's Inscriptions

By Shri Buddha-Prakash

The expression "Riṣṭika-Pitinika" occurs in the fifth Rock edict of Aśoka. In the Girnar version of this edict the form used is "Riṣṭika-Peṭenikānām", while in Dhauli Shahbazgarhi and Manserha versions it is respectively "Laṭhika-Pitenikesu", "Raṣṭikānām Pitinikānām" and "Raṭrika-Pitinikam". In interpreting this word scholars have exhausted their knowledge and ingenuity but so far no settled interpretation has been found out and a battle of wits is perpetually raging on its true intention and meaning. Hultzsch suggested that Rāṭhikas or Rāṣṭrikas might refer to the people of Kathiawar because of the fact that its governor is given the title of Rāṣṭriya in the Junagarh inscription of Rudradāman. At another place he equates Rāṭhikas with the people of the Punjab known as Āraṭṭas in old texts and designated as Arattioi in the Periplus. (Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum Vol. I, p. XXXVIII). Sènart thought the Rāṭhikas as deriving their name from the territory now known as Saurāṣṭra, and Lassen from that of Lāṭa. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar on the basis of the words 'Mahārāṭhi' in some inscriptions of the Sātavāhana period connected the Riṣṭhikas with Mahārāṣṭra and the Marāṭhis. G. H. Ojha conjectured that Raṭṭha, Raṭra or Raṣṭa are corrupt forms of Rāṣṭra which might have been the name of some territory adjoining or adjacent to the present Mahārāṣṭra. (Aśoka ki Dharmalipiyañ (in Hindi p. 51). Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, on the other hand, considers Riṣṭika to be an official designation rather than a tribal name, and R. K. Mookerjee and A. C. Woolner leave the question open (Aśoka, Gaekwad Lectures p. 140; Aśoka: text and glossary Vol. II, p. 127).

Likewise the real import of the word Pitinika is most disputed. G. H. Ojha (ibid p. 51) and Woolner (ibid p. 113) interpret pitinika as the inhabitants of Paṭṭhan or Pratiṣṭhāna on the Godavari. D. R. Bhandarkar, on the other hand, takes this word as a variant of Petṭanaka, occurring in Aṅguttara Nikāya III, 70 and 300, which the commentator explains as meaning hereditary officers. This equation Pitinika = Petṭanaka is rejected by Michelson as

“defying known phonetic shifts”. He thinks that Pitinika is derived from Paitrayānic (JAOS 46 ; 257).

All these interpretations and explanations are merely conjectural based on no literary, linguistic or historical grounds. Whether there were any tribes known as Riṣṭikas and Pitinikas is shrouded in mystery, and no reference made to them is traceable in any record of Indian history save these Aśokan inscriptions.

Hence we have to ransack the early literature of this country in order to assess the real significance of these words. Furthermore, in attempting their interpretation we have to look to the context in which they are used and seek their meaning with reference to the same.

The word Raṭṭhika-Pettaṇika, Pāli forms of Riṣṭika-Pitinika are used in the “Padhāniya-sutta” of Aṅguttaranikāya 6, 1, 2, 7., The relevant passage may be translated as follows :—

“Then Brethren ! from the Sthaviras to the neophytes, all sleep and snort soundly till sunrise. Then, what do you think, brethren ! have you heard or seen a well-anointed and consecrated King enjoying the pleasures of sound sleep..... ?

“No, Master”.

“Well ! Brethren ! I have also not heard or seen a well-anointed and consecrated *King* enjoying the pleasures of sound sleep. What do you then, think, brethren ! have you heard or seen a *Raṭṭhika*, *Pettaṇaka*, *Senāpatika*, *Gāmagāmika* or *Poogagāmika* enjoying the pleasures of sound sleep..... ?

“No Master”.

Explaining this passage the commentator in his Aṭṭha Kathā gives ‘hereditary’ as the meaning of Pettaṇaka, which Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has accepted. But the impropriety of this interpretation and its unsuitability to the context is apparent on the very surface. Here the Buddha is enumerating administrative official’s order of grade. He begins with the King and ends with the village officer (Gāmagāmanika). His meaning is that people engrossed in political, administrative and worldly affairs do not get the peace of mind which an ascetic enjoys. Hence Raṭṭhika and Pettaṇaka are necessarily officers coming under the King in the administrative cadre. Pettaṇaka here stands as a noun and purports to designate a special officer as others like Senāpatika, Gāmagāmanika and Pooga-Gāmanika do. To think that it means hereditary is improper in regard to the aforesaid context and defies the grammatical position of

the word. It is a general name for a class of official. But before ascertaining the true character of these officials it is essential first to find out the correct import of Raṭṭhikas.

Raṭṭhika is the Pāli-form of Rāṣṭrika and is derived from Rāṣṭra. Rāṣṭra means a kingdom, realm, empire, state and also district, territory, country and region (Apte: The Practical Sanskrit English Dictionary p. 802). In Indian administrative terminology Rāṣṭrika or Rāṣṭriya invariably means a governor. In the Girnar inscription of Rudradāman, we read of Puṣyagupta who was the governor of Kāthiawar under Candragupta Maurya and of the Greek King Tuṣāspa, who held that port under Aśoka. Both of these governors are given the appellation of Rāṣṭriya. In later times the word Rāṣṭriya continued to have the same meaning. When kingship became an autocratic and hereditary family affair and when government became the hot-bed of intrigues, assassinations, rivalries and conflicts, these important posts were distributed amongst the nearest relatives of the reigning sovereign. Usually the brothers-in-law of the kings were Rāṣṭriyas or governors of the state-provinces (cf. Mricchakaṭikam Act 9: Rāṣṭriya-śyālaḥ; Abhijñānaśākuntalam, Act 6: S'rutaṁ rāṣṭriyamukhādyaṁvadaṅgulīyaka-dars'anam). Thus Raṣṭhika, Rāṭhika, Rāṣṭrika or Riṣṭika, coming next to the king, means the provincial governor.

Next to the Raṭṭhika and third from the king is the Pettaṇaka. He must, therefore, be an official holding a post lower than and subordinate to that of Raṭṭhika. In other words, he must be presiding over a territory less in extent than a Rāṣṭra, that is to say, a municipality, a township or a city. In fact the word for city as distinguished from a village is Pattana, (cf. Mālvikāgnimitram, Act I Pattane vidyamāne' pi Grāme ṛtuaparikshā) from which the word Pattanika is derived, meaning the city officer. This word Pattanika is corrupted as Pettaṇaka just as the word Pattana was later on corrupted as Pāṭaṇa following an irregular course of grammatical transformation. Thus Pettaṇaka means a city-magistrate, the equivalent of a modern collector. Equal in rank with him was the superintendent of local police and armies (Senāpatika), the suffix "Ka" is a suggestion of his being subordinate to Senāpati, the Commander-in-chief of state forces. Below them both was the village officer (Gāmagāmaṇika) and the head of other social associations (Pūgagāmaṇika). Thus the entire picture of administration is portrayed before the mind's eye.

In Aśoka's inscriptions too the words Riṣṭika-Pitinika mean governors and collectors. The passage containing them reads as follows: "To savapāsaṇḍesu viyāpatā dhammādhithānāye dhamma-vaḍhīye hitasukhāye eha dhammayutasa yonakambojagandhāresu riṣṭikapitinikesu. Ye Vāpi Aññe aparantā bhaṭamayesu" and should be translated in this way: "They (dharmamahāmātras) have been appointed by me in all sects for the maintenance and progress of dharma and for the welfare of religious people; and (they have been appointed by me) among the governors and collectors of the Greek, Kambojas and Gāndhāras and among the officials of other frontier peoples". Thus it is clear that Aśoka deputed his moral overseers among the governors and collectors who were the linchpins of administration and upon whose enlightenment the moral conduct and character of the people mostly depended.

The Varuṇa Hymns in the Ṛgveda

By Dr. V. M. Apte

One of the approaches to the stupendous task of producing an English translation of the whole of the Ṛgveda, which takes note of the great advance in Ṛgvedic research, made since the publication of the complete English translations of the Ṛgveda by H. H. Wilson (in 6 vols., London 1850-88) and by R. T. H. Griffith (in two vols., 2nd edn. 1896-7, Kotagiri, India)—performances very creditable in their own days—would be for a number of scholars to attempt it *in parts*, be it independently, at different places and at different (but not too widely separated) times. Fortunately the Ṛgveda lends itself naturally, almost ideally, to such a treatment through its groups of hymns to various deities and so we have already English translations of hymn-groups like the 'Hymns to the Maruts', by F. Max Müller (Sacred Books of the East, 32), the 'Hymns to Agni (Maṇḍalas I to V)' by H. Oldenberg (SBE 46), 'Hymns to Uṣas' by A. A. Macdonell, (JRAS 1932), the 'Indra Hymns (Maṇḍalas II to VIII)' by Prof. H. D. Velankar, etc. The following is an attempt in the same direction, being the first instalment of an English translation (with notes) of the Hymns to Varuṇa including those to Mitra and Varuṇa and those to Indra and Varuṇa i. e. about 40 hymns in all.

In addition to the usual list of abbreviations, such for example, as are included in the 'Directions to contributors to the History of India to be published by the Bhāratiya Itihāsa Samiti' (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay 7) the following may be noted:—

- 1) Oldenberg = Ṛgveda, textkritische und exegetische Noten (1909 & 1912).
- 2) Geldner = Der Ṛgveda, übersetzt und erläutert (Erster Teil), 1923.
- 3) Grassmann = Wörterbuch zum Ṛgveda.
- 4) Bloomfield = Ṛgveda Repetitions, HOS. Vols. 20 & 24.
- 5) Ludwig = Der Ṛgveda, übersetzt von A. Ludwig, 6 vols. (Prag. Leip. 1876-88).
- 6) BR = The St. Petersburg Dictionary by Böhtlingk and Roth.
- 7) BSS = Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series.

[Although Oldenberg makes out a very plausible case against the splitting up of the hymn I. 24. 1-15, we may for all *practical purposes* treat the compact group of verses 6-15 sacred to Varuṇa, as a separate hymn, preceded as it is, by verses sacred to Agni (1-2) and to Savitr (3-5).]

TRANSLATION. I 24. (6)

Neither thy royal power, nor (thy) strength, nor (thy) spirit, have even the flying birds attained to (the end of); nor (have) these Waters moving unremittingly, nor (have) those who overpower the monstrous might of Vāta (attained to the end thereof).

NOTES I. 24. (6)

(b) That *āpūḥ* is equivalent to *āntam āpūḥ* is shown by I. 167. 9^b; X. 54. 3. The meaning of the phrase is elucidated by the parallel expression: *ā dadharṣati* in I. 155. 5^{cd}. (d) It is not impossible that these are the mountains as suggested by Ludwig, since, *pra-mī* has the sense of 'to reduce, violate or damage'. Geldner proposes that they are the horses of Indra. In my opinion, the suggestion of Oldenberg (who compares *vāta-pramiyaḥ* in IV. 58. 7) that they may be the same as those referred to in I. 25. 9^c is very happy, for the reason that Varuṇa is described in I. 25. 7 & 9 as knowing (and therefore as superior to) 'the track of the birds flying through the firmament and the track of the ship' and as knowing the pathway of Vāta, just as in our verse, he is described as superior to the flying birds, the Waters and to 'those that surpass the might of Vāta'. That these again are the Maruts is rendered very probable by V. 58. 7 which tells us that the Maruts yoke the Vātas (winds) as steeds to their chariot-pole.

TRANSLATION I. 24. (7)

In the bottomless (region), King Varuṇa sustains erect the crown of the Tree, (Varuṇa) of hallowed power; downwards do they (the rays) tend, upwards is their bottom. In us may the rays be established.

NOTES I. 24. (7)

The spectacle of the rays of light branching downwards, from a source high up in the sky gives rise to this poetic image of a tree, wherein can be recognised the characteristics of the Nyagrodha (lit. 'growing downwards') tree—Ficus-Indica—which though not mentioned by name in the ṚV [as the sister tree, the Aśvattha (*Ficus Religiosa*) is] seems to be thus known. The Gobhila Gṛhyasūtra (IV. 7. 24) mentions the Nyagrodha as Varuṇa's Tree and the Viṣṇusahasranāma in the Mahābhārata (Anuśāsana Parvan, 149) mentions a 'Varuṇa Tree,' among the thousand names of Viṣṇu. (d) The rays are (the mainspring of the vitality) of the people (*jānānām ketāvaḥ*) and sink low at the approach of evening (I. 191. 4^c).

TRANSLATION I. 24. (8)

King Varuṇa has made a wide path for the Sun, (for him) to go along; for the footless he has made feet, to set (them) down and (he is) the exorciser of even (*cid*) the heart-hitter.

NOTES I. 24. (8)

(c) The accent of *apāde* shows it to be not the Loc. but the Dat. Sing. of *apād*, which is most probably to be referred back to the Dative *sūryāya* in (b). It was necessary not only to make a path for Sūrya, but also to endow him with feet, to tread thereon. (d) Geldner's suggestion that the *hrdayāvīdh* ('heart-hitter') is Rudra, in conformity with AV. 6. 90. 1 is quite plausible. I, however, believe it to be more probable, in view of the following verse, that it refers to the *hrd-roḡā* ('heart-affliction') mentioned in I. 50. 11, which Varuṇa, who commands the services of the physicians (or 'medicines') is preeminently competent to remove.

TRANSLATION I. 24. (9)

A hundred, O King, a thousand healers are thine ; wide and deep may thy good-will be ! Drive far [*dūrē*] (and) away [*parācāh*] Nirṛti ; loosen from us any (*cid*) sin committed (by us).

NOTES I. 24. (9)

(a) This is the only passage where Grassmann assigns the meaning 'Heilmittel' ('medicines' or 'remedies') instead of 'healers' or 'physicians' to the word, *bhiśāj* but this is not necessary. The word may mean even here 'physicians,' because the Waters are called *bhiśājaḥ* in VI. 50. 7. and they belong to Varuṇa who is their lord. (c) *parācāh*: the Instr. Plu. (in fact, the only form) of *parācā* used adverbially. It is interesting that in four out of the six occurrences of the word in the R̥V, it is found by the side of *dūrē* or the synonymous *ārē*! *Nirṛti*: [lit. 'exit' (from the right path)] is not merely 'destruction, sin or evil' personified. *It is something more physical and concrete.* In I. 117. 5. we hear about 'the Sun dwelling in darkness, as if he were asleep in the lap of *Nirṛti*.' In X. 161. 2. the lap of *Nirṛti* is identified with the region of Mṛtyu. X. 95. 14. specifies further the lap of *Nirṛti* as the place where Purūravas will lie down—a prey to the wild wolves—after having fled to the farthest distance, never to return. In VII. 104. 9. consignment to the lap of *Nirṛti* is proposed as an equally horrid alternative to 'handing over to Ahi the serpent' (cf. X. 18. 10 also). VII. 58. 1 speaks of the 'Maruts mounting up to the firmament from the bottomless (abyss) of *Nirṛti*. *Nirṛti*, then, is the abysmal region of darkness, dissolution and punishment, associated with Mṛtyu and Yama—a sort of remote nether region or *rājas*, through which the sun moved during the night.

TRANSLATION I. 24. (10)

Yonder stars (*ṛkṣāḥ*), set on high which show (themselves) at night, have gone somewhere by day ; the moon goes by night, illumining the inviolable *vratās* of Varuṇa.

NOTES I. 24. (10)

(a) *ṛkṣāḥ* has also been interpreted (Bloomfield, *RR*. 58) as "bears" (the seven stars in the constellation of the Great Bear). In the R̥V, the word means both 'star' as here and 'bear' (V. 56. 3). (c) & (d): I prefer to take *vicākaśat* as *transitive* in sense here, as it is in the only two other passages of its occurrence (VIII. 91 2; X. 86. 19), and like *prācākaśat* in IV. 53. 4. As regards *vratā*, in my monograph "*All about Vratā in the R̥gveda*" (BDCRI Vol. III), I have shown that the word is to be derived from \sqrt{vrt} rather than from \sqrt{vr} and has the primary meaning: (1) 'Turning, movement, course or passage' and the secondary meanings such as (2) 'way, path, route, or track, (3) 'sphere, realm, jurisdiction', (4) 'law of movement', (5) 'ordinance, command' etc. Varuṇa has laid out the paths for the movements of the luminaries like the sun and the moon, along the *Rtā* and the moon goes along illumining them by night, as the sun does by day. A more common translation of (c) & (d) is: "Inviolable are the laws of Varuṇa, the moon goes shining (*vicākaśat*, as intransitive) by night".

TRANSLATION I. 24 (11)

(For) *that* I approach thee, worshipping with *brāhman* (sacred spell); *that* the sacrificer aspires (after), with oblations [namely, the consummation implied in the prayer]: Be thou unestranged here, rob us not (of) our life, O far-famed one!

Notes I. 24. (11)

(c) The suggestion (Geldner, Oldenberg) that *bodhi* can belong to \sqrt{budh} also, is quite plausible. In fact, RV poets are quite up to such plays on words. Compare especially II 33. 15; III 19. 5 and X. 100. 1.

TRANSLATION I. 24. (12)

That by day, *that* even by night, they tell me; *that* (is indeed, what) this wish (of mine) tells (me) from the (bottom of my) heart: (namely) "He whom S'unaḥśepa (when) seized, invoked, that King Varuṇa may release us".

NOTES I. 24. (12)

(b) It is doubtful if, in VIII. 100, 5 [one of the two parallel passages cited by Geldner for the Ablative *hrdāḥ* (ऋ) here], the Ablative is to be read against the Padapāṭha which gives *hrdē* (Dative). (c) All that the RV tells us about Śunaḥśepa (= 'Dog's tail') is that when he was captured (in the sense, 'made fast to three wooden stocks') he invoked the Āditya Varuṇa (I. 24. 13 ab), that the Ṛṣi of hymn I. 24 prays to King Varuṇa for the release of Śunaḥśepa (and himself) from the 'fetters' (I. 24. 12 cd; 13 cd), and that Agni released Śunaḥśepa when bound, from the 'thousand' (-fold) sacrificial post [i. e. 'from the thousand sacrificial posts' or 'when bound (because bought) for a thousand (cows)'] since he toiled in the service of Agni (V. 2. 7ab).

Similarly the Taittiriya (V. 2. 1. 3) and Kāṭhaka (XIX. 11) Saṃhitās merely tell us that he saved himself from bonds when seized by Varuṇa. It is only in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII. 13-18) and the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra (XV. 20. 1 ff) that the story gathers the following details:— Śunaḥśepa (patronymic: Ājigarti) was bought as a victim by Rohita (the son of King Hariscandra) to indemnify himself because his father had promised him (Rohita) as a sacrifice to Varuṇa. Śunaḥśepa was then bound to the stake but was ultimately released through his prayers which are supposed to be recorded in the RV-hymns: I. 24-30, the so-called Śunaḥśepa cycle of hymns.

TRANSLATION I. 24 (13)

Since (*hī*), S'unaḥśepa, seized (and) bound to three wooden stocks has called to Aditi's son (Varuṇa), may King Varuṇa deliver him; may the Wise, the Undeceived (Varuṇa) disentangle the fetters.

NOTES I. 24 (13)

(a) *ahvat* (here and in V. 12c.) is 3. S. a. acrist of $\sqrt{hū}$, to call. (b) Aditi is the mother of Mitra, Varuṇa, Aryaman, Bhaga, Dakṣa and Amśa (six Ādityas only being mentioned thus by name in II. 27. 1.). The total number, however, is once said to be seven (IX. 114. 3.) and once eight (X. 72. 8), Mārtāṇḍa being the eighth. Varuṇa, the chief of the Ādityas, is meant when one god alone is mentioned as an Āditya. From IV. 32. 23, it appears probable that wooden yoke-poles (*drupadd*) were used as posts for binding criminals.

Is it possible that they were also used as sacrificial posts, to which sacrificial victims were tied?

TRANSLATION I. 24 (14)

We seek (*īmahe*) O Varuṇa, (to calm) down (*áva*) thy anger with adorations, (to calm it) down with sacrifices (and) oblations; ruling over us, O Provident Asura, O King, loosen (from us) the sins committed (by us),

NOTES I. 24. (14)

(a) & (b) The idiom: *áva* with *īmahe* [lit, 'we approach (thy anger) down'] is to be noted; cf. VII. 58. 5^d. (c) *kṣi* means to 'rule over' or 'dwell' according as it follows the *bhū* class (*kṣayati*) or the *ad* class (*kṣeti*). *asura*: Dr. Dandekar (*Asura Varuṇa*, ABORI XXI) has given the best explanation (in my opinion) of this epithet as meaning the Being who possesses the highest amount of *ánu* regarded by the Primitives as a supernatural fluid investing the possessor with occult power. (d) The use of *śrath*, to loosen (of which *śśrathaḥ* is the red. ao. Injunctive 2 sing) with 'sins', is exactly parallel to its use with fetters in the next verse and thus poetically suggests the metaphor that 'sins' are the 'fetters' (of the Soul).

TRANSLATION I. 24. (15)

(Loose) from us the uppermost fetter (in an) upward (direction), the lowest one (in a) downward (direction); loose off (*ví*) the middle (fetter). (And) so (*átha*), may we abide in thy *vratá*, sinless before Aditi, O Son of Aditi.

NOTES I. 24: (15)

(a) & (b) are remarkably parallel to I. 25. 21. The two passages together describe the fetters of Varuṇa as *three* and the method of release therefrom that they hint at, is very interesting. The top-most fetter was to be disentangled by being thrown upward (*úd*) i. e. off the head, (it seems) and the lowest one by being thrown down (*áva*) but the middle one could only be snapped apart (*ví*). It would be safe to conjecture therefore, that the three fetters were fastened round the neck, the waist and the feet. (c) For *vratá* see the note on the word in v. 10 above. (d) Aditi is very frequently invoked to deliver from guilt or sin and like Varuṇa here, Agni (IV. 12. 4) and Savitr (V. 82. 6) are besought to free the worshippers from guilt before (i. e., in the eyes of) Aditi. Aditi and Varuṇa are more closely connected with the notion of release from sin than other gods, Aditi being as it were, the *formal* ultimate arbiter.

TRANSLATION I. 25 (11)

If ever (*yat cid*), pray (*hí*), we violate thy law, O god Varuṇa, like the *vís*, day after day,

NOTES I. 25. (1)

(a) The point of the simile "like the *vís*" is uncertain. If the simile is to be technically correct, the *upamāna* (*víśaḥ*) must be exclusive of the *upameya*, namely the speaker (the poet-priest) and the Yajamāna with his kith and kin, on whose behalf he prays. Then *víśaḥ* will have to be taken as denoting the third class of the Vedic polity, 'the people or the clansmen', [as distinguished from the nobles (*kṣatra*) and the priests (*brahman*)]. Or *víśaḥ* may mean 'subjects' whose violation of their King's commands is compared to the violation by the priest and the noble (=sacrificer) of the laws of King Varuṇa. This comes to

the same thing, because the 'subjects' proper of a King were 'the people or folk' who formed the third class of Vedic society, the two higher classes not being counted as subjects. If, however, we do not insist (*as well we may not*, in the RV) on the flawlessness of the simile, *vīśāḥ* may be taken in the very broad sense of 'human tribes', 'common people' or 'ordinary folk', as in VI. 14. 2^{ad}: *agnīm hótāram īlāte yanjñēṣu mānuṣo vīśāḥ* and in VIII. 23. 13^b; VI. 1. 8^a, and X. 80. 6^{ab}. The translation, in this case, would be: 'like the (ordinary) human folk, (*that we are*).

TRANSLATION I. 25. (2)

surrender us not to the mortal weapon of the angry one, nor to the indignation (*manyāve*) of the wrathful one.

NOTES I. 25. (2)

It is possible but quite unnecessary, (nay, awkward) to refer *jihīlānāsya* and *hr̥ṇānāsya* to Varuṇa himself. The two adjectives suggest instruments of retribution—human or superhuman—which Varuṇa can avail himself of to punish a sinner. I. 24. 15, IV. 12. 4 and V. 82. 6 show that Aditi is the divine instrument of retribution or absolution—the final arbiter approached by the repentant sinner through Varuṇa, Agni and Savitṛ respectively. For the idea of retribution taking the shape of 'exposure' to the attack of a human enemy, compare VIII. 3. 2b: 'Do not cast us before the plotter' and I. 89. 8: "Whatever fiend roused by you (Maruts) or by men attacks us" and V. 3. 12: 'May not Agni surrender us to him who does harm to us'. See also v. 14 of this very hymn.

TRANSLATION. I. 25. (3)

For mercy (upon us) would we unbind thy mind with praises, O Varuṇa, as a charioteer (should unbind) a horse (that is) bound;

NOTES. I. 25. (3)

The RV loves to dwell on the idea that the mind (*mānas*) of the God is drawn 'hitherwards' i. e. towards himself by the devotee (I. 84. 3; III. 37. 2) and then held fast by him (VII. 24. 2). It is mobile and may be anywhere (VI. 16. 17). X. 145. 6. speaks of the *mānas* running eagerly (towards the speaker) like the mind of a cow towards her calf. So the 'unbinding' in our verse may be either from the body of Varuṇa or from the vicinity of some other rival devotee.

TRANSLATION I. 25 (4)

For (*hī*), away fly my longings, for the search of (something) better, as birds (fly away) unto their nests.

NOTES. I. 25. (4)

(a) It must be recognised here that *hī* joins this verse syntactically with the preceding one and that it is not possible to look upon every *tr̥ca* of this hymn, as an independent hymn as Bergaigne (*Recherches sur l'histoire de la Saṁhitā du RV*) proposes to do. Prof. Paranjpe has shown with great plausibility (BSS. 58.3rd edn) that Bergaigne's explanation (accepted by Oldenberg and Geldner) of *vīmanyavaḥ* as '(prayers) that turn away or calm (thy) anger' is open to the objection that it is not well-established that *vī* gives a privative sense in the RV. He himself thinks that *vī* gives a sense of 'diversity,' when prefixed to words that are not verbal nouns and so proposes the meaning '(prayers) expressing various longings.' In my opinion, the explanation of the word given by BR and Grassman,

as an equivalent of *manyāvaḥ* [the prefix *vs* not materially changing the sense as in *vijāmi* and *vīmadhya*] is strengthened by the following considerations here: (i) It is not very appropriate to associate the 'diversity of longings' with a fixed goal (*vasyā-iṣṭaye*); (ii) The remarkably parallel verse 16th of this very hymn is a word-by-word paraphrase of v. 4th as it were; *dhītāyaḥ* corresponding to *vīmanyavaḥ* makes it almost certain that the latter word is equivalent to *manyāvaḥ*.

(b) *vasyā-iṣṭaye*: cf *vāsya icchān* in I. 1091. For the compound [a Tatpuruṣa where before a verbal noun like *iṣṭi*, a nominal first member often appears with a case-ending, generally that which a corresponding verb would govern in a sentence] of *dāvam-iṣṭaye* in VIII. 61. 7. *vāsyah* is the Acc. sing. *vāsyas* the comparative of *vāsu*.

TRANSLATION. I. 25 (5)

When will we bring (towards us) Varuṇa, the Man, who has attained to (his) dominion, for mercy (on us)—[Varuṇa] the wide-visioned one?

NOTES. I. 25. (5)

(a) Sāyana's explanation of *kṣatraśrīyam* as *balasevinam* (*Kṣatrāṇi śrayati iti kṣatraśrīḥ*) suits this verse and the next (where *tāt* and *āśāte* together analyse, as it were, this compound here) most admirably. The subtle and elaborate argument of Prof. Paranjpe (*op. cit*) against it, is not convincing enough. The form *gaṇaśrī* (parallel to ours) can be derived (as he also admits) from the root *śrī* (I. P.) as Pāṇini and Kātyāyana followed by Sāyana do. It is possible, of course, to interpret the compound also as (i) "the beautifier of *kṣatrā* (*śrī* or *śrī*. 9. P = 'to beautify')" or as (ii) 'deriving (his) beauty from (his) *kṣatrā*'—a Bahuvrīhi, in the manner of Oldenberg (S B E 46) who renders the compound *agniśrīyaḥ* in III. 26. 5 thus: "who possess the beauty of Agni" or "who receive their beauty through Agni". The Professor's insistence on taking *kṣatraśrīḥ* as a verbal noun only and nothing else, is more exacting than necessary.

TRANSLATION I. 25 (6)

That (*tāt*) very common (dominion), the Two (Mitra and Varuṇa) have attained; the Perceiving Ones (*venantā*) do not fail (the man) who has worshipped the upholder of *vrataś*,

NOTES. I. 25. (6)

(a) *tāt* can only refer (as Geldner points out) to *ṛṣatra*—, in the *kṣatraśrīyam* of the preceding verse—an attribute predominantly appropriated in the R̥V to Varuṇa (generally with Mitra). In addition to the three passages cited by Geldner (I. 136. 3, V. 66. 2; VIII 25. 8) which show the use of *āśāte* (twice) and *āśatuḥ* (once)—both dual verb-forms—with *kṣatram*, I draw attention to the following important ones:—

V. 67. 1 where the same verb is used with *kṣatrā*. Very convincing is V. 62. 6, where *sahā* corresponds to our *samānām*. In III. 38. 5; VI. 67. 6 and V. 64. 6, *kṣatrā* is used with forms of verbs like *dhā*, *dhṛ* and *bhṛ*, which are synonymous with the verb in this verse, namely: *amś* or *aś*. *kṣatram* is the very special attribute of Mitra and Varuṇa. Their great *kṣatrā* (for example) among the gods is spoken of, in I. 136. 1 and V 68. 3. The gods unanimously conferred the *Kṣatrā* on Mitra and Varuṇa. (VI. 67. 5). Prof. Paranjpe's objection that "*it* and *samānām* ill suit *kṣatram*" is not valid. Finally he himself has been able to cite only two passages

where *dāśate* is used with *barhīh* (which he proposes to understand by *tāt* here), in neither of which Mitra and Varuṇa figure [see I. 144. 6 and VIII. 31. 6 quoted by him]! (b) In a paper entitled: '*The root ven and its verb-forms in the R̥V*' [contributed to the Dr. A. B. Dhruva Memorial Volume], the writer has demonstrated that all the available R̥gvedic evidence shows that the root *ven* [compare *vāenaiti* (= 'he sees'), the Avestan equivalent of the verb-form *venati* of the R̥V *R̥ven*] means in the R̥V (i) *primarily* 'to see, behold, observe, watch, attend to, (or) to be conscious of' in a *physical* sense and (ii) *secondarily* 'to see, attend to or perceive etc., with the *minds' eye*, i. e., 'to ponder over, mediate or consider' and that, it is *by no means necessary* (though not impossible) to attach to it, the meaning 'to long for' 'to love' and also the opposite one 'to be jealous of', 'to turn against' (someone), as is done, for example, in Grassmann's Wörter-buch. Thus our '*vénantā ná prá yucchataḥ*' becomes exactly parallel to X. 65. 5 b:—'[*yā samrājā*] *mānasā ná prayūcchataḥ*'. (c) With regard to *dhṛtá-vrata* here, it has been generally supposed, that this is the only passage in the R̥V where the epithet is applied not to the god but to the worshipper and the verse has been suspected therefore as a probable interpolation. The writer holds however that *even here* it is applied to Varuṇa, the construction being: '*dhṛtávratāya (Vāruṇāya) dāśūṣe*' = 'One who makes offerings to or worships the *dhṛtávrata* (god Varuṇa)'. Such use of *dāśūṣe* with the Dative of the object of adoration is fairly common:— I. 74. 9c *devébhyo deva dāśūṣe*; X. 65. 6: *sā prabruvāṇā vāruṇāya dāśūṣe*; X. 113. 5: *mitrāya vāruṇāya dāśūṣe*. Cf also I. 68. 6. It thus turns out that the epithet is applied *invariably* to a god and that god (or gods) is Varuṇa or, Mitra-Varuṇa or the Ādityas generally, in 14 out of a total of 18 passages; cf v. 8 below.

Samaramiyanikā Kahā of Haribhadra¹

By Prof. Dr. A. N. Upadhye

Uddyotanasūri, the author of *Kuvalayamālā* (completed on 21st March, 779 A. D.) was a disciple of Haribhadra; and any information he gives about his *guru* deserves our special attention. He speaks about his *guru* in the introductory verse of the *Kuvalayamālā* thus :²

जो इच्छइ भवविरहं भवविरहं को ण वंदए सुयणो ।

समयसयसत्थगुरुणो समरमियंका कहा जस्स ॥

Clearly this is a respectful reference to Haribhadra³ who is well-known as *virahāṅka* and who is proved to be the *guru* of Uddyotana. According to Uddyotana, then, Haribhadra composed Samaramiyanikā Kahā which has been all along rendered into Sanskrit as Samara-mṛgāṅkā Kathā.

The statement of Uddyotana is quite clear, and naturally various questions can be raised. Is it that Haribhadra wrote a Samara-mṛgāṅkā-kathā besides his famous *Samarāditya-kathā*; or is it that the phrase *Samaramiyanikā kahā* only refers to the present *Samarāicca-kahā*? The first question has to be answered in the negative, because no other source, as far as I know, has attributed an additional work, Samara-mṛgāṅkā-kathā by name, to Haribhadra. A comparison of the concluding verse of the *Samarāditya Kathā*, which runs thus,

जं विरहज्जण पुणं महाणुभावचरियं मए पत्तं ।

तेण इहं भवविरहो होउ सया भवियलोयस्स ॥

with the verse of *Kuvalayamālā*, quoted above, hardly leaves any doubt that Uddyotana has the present *Samarāicca-kahā* in view. As long as we render the title in Sanskrit as Samara-mṛgāṅkā Kathā, we will be forced to find out how *mṛgāṅka* can mean *āditya*, and whether the Sanskrit language supplies any reference to the effect that *mṛgāṅka* did mean 'sun' as well, beside the normal meaning 'moon'. Another suggestion that because a prince Samara-mṛgāṅka figures the 8th Bhava, Samara-mṛgāṅka Kathā is another title of the *Samarādityakathā* is not quite convincing; for, Samara-mṛgāṅka is not the chief character in that story and there are many such names of incidental characters in this book. Samarāditya is the Hero whose earlier births are elaborately described in this work.

1 Excepting a few sentences which I have added here and there to explain some minor points raised by my scholar friends, this paper is practically identical with the one I read before the Prākṛit and Jainism Section of the All-India Oriental Conference, 13th Session, Nagpur. See the *Summaries of Papers*, Nagpur 1946.

2 I have on hand a critical edition of this Prākṛit Campū based on the Ms. material so kindly entrusted to me by Āchārya Jinavijayaji. I am quoting the above verse from a transcript.

3 See Jacobi's Intro. to his ed. of the *Samarāiccakahā*, BI, No. 169, Calcutta 1926.

There is no doubt that Uddyotana has in view the present *Samarāṁcakahā*; and as I shall show presently, the phrase *samaramiyanṁkā kahā* signifies the same. But the various difficulties about this problem are due to the wrong Sanskrit rendering of this phrase, namely, *Samara-mṛgāṁkā kathā*. In my opinion, the real Sanskrit rendering should be *Samara-mitārkā kathā*, which means the story of Arka or Āditya, limited, qualified or prefixed by Samara, i. e., the *Samarāditya-kathā*. This habit of dividing the members of a compound expression, more usually proper names, by inserting words like *ādī*, *anta*, *pūrva* etc. is seen in some works. Some select illustrations from the *Brhatkathākos'a* of Harīṣeṇa⁴ I have already noted; such as *anunagaram Giripūrvakam* = *Girinagara* (127. 126), *paryādivrājikā* = *parivrājikā* (76. 181), *Rājopapadam grham* = *Rājagṛham* (9. 1) etc. Haribhadra has used *mita* between *Samara* and *Arka*. The equation of *arka* with *aṁka* can be explained. In Prākṛit we have a similar phenomenon in *Karkoṭa-kamkoḍa* (Hema. VIII. i. 26); in the *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*⁵ both *akka* and *aṁka* are used for *arka* (see VII. 295-96, 345-46); and the famous royal name *Vikramāṁka* is just a phonetic variation of *Vikramārka*, i. e., *Vikramāditya*. So we can safely conclude that Uddyotana's phrase *Samara-miyanṁkā kahā* is to be rendered into Sanskrit as *Samaramitārkā kathā*, and it stands for the *Samarāditya kathā* of Haribhadra.⁶

4 Singhī Jain Series 17, Bombay 1943, Intro. p. 101.

5 Jivarāja Jaina Granthamālā, Sholapur 1943.

6 I find that a note on this very topic is contributed by Muni Śrī Puṇyavijayaḥ to *Premā Abhinandana Grantha* (p. 424) which is lately published (Tikamgarh 1946). It is shown by Muniji on the authority of a salutation-passage from the *Jaina Pratisthāvidhi* (viz. ॐ ह्रीं शङ्खाक्षुर्ध्याय सहस्रकिरणाय नमो नमः स्वाहा ।) that *śaśāṁka* means sun in this passage; and therefore *mṛgāṁka* and *āditya* are synonyms. Muniji has certainly brought forth an interesting passage to explain the title *Samaramiyanṁkā kahā*, but this evidence is open to various objections. First, we do not get *śaśāṁkāya sūryāya sahasrakiraṇāya* in which case alone *śaśāṁka* can be taken as a synonym for *sūrya*; as it stands *śaśāṁka-sūryāya* is a riddle to me, till we come across a mythical tale that disc of the sun has a mark of the hare. Secondly, *śaśāṁka* and *mṛgāṁka* are not really synonyms, though in view of two different stories about the spot on the moon they mean 'moon'; and hence we must find a passage where *mṛgāṁka* means the sun. Thirdly, the authority of a cryptic passage from a ritualistic work, wherein sounds have more value than significance, is not as strong as that of a *kośa* or a literary work. So to prove the contention that *mṛgāṁka* means *āditya*, we must search for a safer authority. Muniji has used *Samara-mayanṁkā* and *-miyanṁkā* indiscriminately in his discussion; but the Ms. material which I possess uniformly reads *miyanṁkā*, though both the readings *samara* and *savara* are noticed for the first part. Though our interpretations differ, the conclusion is the same that *Samaramiyanṁkā kahā* stands for the *Samarāditya kathā* of Haribhadra.

VASANTA VILĀSA

The Revised, Collated Text

By Prof. K. B. Vyas

'*Vasanta Vilāsa Phāgu*' is a singularly interesting *phāgu* poem of c. 1400 V. S. It is remarkably beautiful as a poetic composition; it is also extremely important as a philological document.

The poem was edited thrice by the late Diwan Bahadur K. H. DHĀRVA, but his method of unwarranted conjectural emendations has robbed his editions of much of their value.

I, therefore, re-edited the poem in 1942 on the basis of two Mss, A and B, the latter of which was so corrupt that I had to base my text almost entirely on the A Ms. After the edition was practically printed off, a third Ms C from Pāṭan came into my hands. As it came too late for collation with the other Mss all that I could do was to collect all its variants in an Appendix.

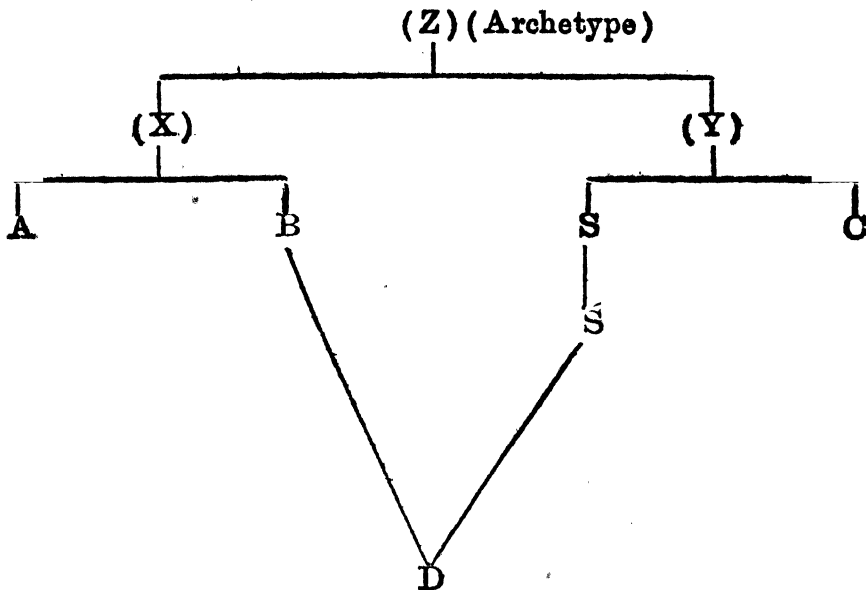
The acquisition of the C Ms, which preserves a tradition, different from A and B, made it apparent that the text would have to be revised with its aid. I also felt that a properly collated text would help in elucidating many of the *Vyāsa-Kūṭas*, which obscured the meaning at various places inspite of the copious explanatory notes. Accordingly, a revised, collated text was prepared along with an introduction, which throws further light on several important topics, and a translation. The introduction and translation have appeared under the title '*Vasanta Vilāsa Phāgu—A Further Study*' in the *Journal of the University of Bombay*, September, 1946. The text had to be omitted for lack of space, but a few important readings were recorded there instead. The full text is now given below.

It is reconstructed from all available material—Mss A B and C; the available verses of the scroll (S) found in the illustrations reproduced in Mr. N. C. Mehta's '*Studies in Indian Painting*' and '*Gujarati Painting in the Fifteenth Century, A Further Essay on Vasanta Vilāsa*'; the text given by D. B. DHĀRVA in '*Gujarāt Sālāpatra*' (Ś), April-August, 1892, which from its agreement with all the available verses of the scroll, appears to be identical with it; and the text given by DHĀRVA (D) in the '*Hāji Mahammad Smāraka Grantha*' and '*Prācīna Gurjara Kāvya*'. The text given in the *Sālāpatra* (S) is evidently

4 मा. नि. मा.

based entirely on the scroll (S) as the introductory note prefixed to the text indicates; but DHRUVA has in some places emended it, though fortunately for us he has given the original readings in the footnotes, which while collating we shall substitute in their proper places, discarding the emendations. This version (Ś) is thus of the greatest value to us, particularly when the original scroll is not available. The later version of DHRUVA (D) given in the '*Hāji Mahammad Grantha*' and '*Prācīna Gurjara Kāvya*' has suffered much from unwarranted emendations, and has therefore to be utilised with circumspection. It would rank as a conflated Ms derived from the B Ms and the scroll.

The relationship of these different Mss can be thus represented.



The revised text of *Vasanta Vilāsa*, carefully collated from the above Ms material, is given below. I have not discarded in the revised text older forms in favour of later ones, in order to improve the rhyme-scheme, which is unnecessary in view of the fact that the mediaeval poets rhymed ञ or ञ freely with ञ.

I have given in footnotes below the text only the very important variants from Mss B and C, as their complete critical apparatus is available in my edition of '*Vasanta Vilāsa: An Old Gujarāṭi Phāgu*'. Of the A Ms quite a number of variants are recorded, in order to indicate the deviation of the present revised, collated text from the earlier text in my edition, which was based solely on the A Ms. Similarly, from the S-Ś version variants are noted more

fully as it is so rare—the scroll being practically lost to us and the older numbers of *Sāḍapatra* being almost inaccessible. I could get hold of them with great difficulty after a prolonged search.

For introduction and philological notes reference may be made to my edition of *Vasanta Vilāsa*, and for translation to my paper ‘*Vasanta Vilāsa Phāgu—A Further Study*’, *Journal of the University of Bombay*, September, 1946.

वरप्तावलिम्

पङ्क्तिः सरसति अरविषु रविषु वसंतविलासु ।
 वीणि¹ भरद् करि दाहिणि² वाहिनि हंसुलड³ जासु ॥ १⁴ ॥
 पङ्कतीय⁵ शिवरति समरति हव⁶ रितु तणीय वसंत ।
 दह दित्ति पसरहं परिमल निरमल ध्या दिशि अंत ॥ २ ॥
 बहिनूए⁷ गयह हिमवंति वसंति लयड अवतार⁸ ।
 अलि मकरंदिहिं मुहरिया कुहरिया सवि सहकार ॥ ३⁹ ॥
 वसंततणा गुण गहगह्या महमह्या सवि सहकार¹⁰ ।
 त्रिभुवनि जयजयकार पिकारव करहं अपार ॥ ४ ॥
 पदमिनी¹¹ परिमल बहकहं कहकहं मलयसमीर ।
 मयणु जिहां परिपंथीय पंथीय भाइं अभीर ॥ ५¹² ॥
 मानिनी¹³ जनमनक्षोभन शोभन वाडला वाइं¹⁴ ।
 निधुवनकेलिकलामीय¹⁵ कामीय अणि सुहाइ ॥ ६ ॥
 मुनिजननां मन भेदए¹⁶ छेदए¹⁷ मानिनी मान¹⁸ ।
 कामीय मनह¹⁹ आणंदए कंदए पथिकपराण ॥ ७ ॥
 वनि विरच्यां कदलीहर दीहर मंडपमाल ।
 तलीया²⁰ तोरण सुंदर वंदरवालि²¹ बिशाल ॥ ८ ॥

[Note—At important places the readings adopted in the above collated text are repeated in the footnotes in brackets along with their MS authority, for purposes of comparison. When there is more than one set of readings equally possible for adoption in the text, one of them—often the one that best agrees with the context—is accepted in the text, and is underlined with a wavy line, while the rest are noted in the footnote. Emendations, where necessary, are suggested in footnotes only.]

1 वीणु A. 2 emended दाहिणि preferable to rhyme. 3 em. (i. e. emended) हंसुलु pref. (i. e. preferable) metrically. 4 C gives as vs 1 b: कायुपयडपयवंधिहिं संधियमक भलभास—perhaps an earlier reading (cf. कायुवंधि पडुनेमिजिणुगुण गापसउं केवी, *Neminātha Phāgu* of Maladbāri Rājasekharasūri), though difficult to decide conclusively for want of the corresponding scroll text. Note—Text of vss 1-6 is damaged in SS. 5 पुङ्कतीय A. 6 हिव A. 7 बहिनहे A. 8 अवतार A. 9 C Ms omits vs 3. 10 वनसार A. 11 पदमिनि A. 12 C Ms omits vs 5. 13 मानिनि A. 14 वाइं A. 15 *केलिक पामीय A, *पामीअ B, *कलामीय C (der. Pr. किलामिअ < Sk. क्लमित) very prob. (i. e. probably) the original reading; presence of suffixed क in केलिक पामीय AB points to it. A lectio difficilior, probably simplified thus: केलिकलामीय—>केलिक लामीय—>emended केलिक लामीय—>emended केलिक पामीय. 16 भेदह C, भेदहं S. 17 छेदह C, छेदहं S. 18 मानु A. 19 वनि S. 20 तलीया CS. 21 चंदरवाल A.

खेलन बाबि सुखालीय¹ जालीय² गुधि³ विश्राम⁴ ।
 मृगमदपूरि कपूरिहिं पूरिहिं जल⁵ अभिराम ॥ ९ ॥
 रंगभूमी सजकारीय⁶ झारीय⁷ कुंकुमचोक ।
 सोवन सांकल सांघीय⁸ बांघीय⁹ चंपक¹⁰ दोल ॥ १० ॥
 तिहां¹¹ विलसइं सखि कामुक जामुक हृदयचइ¹² रंगि ।
 काम जित्वा अलवेसर वेस¹³ रचइं वर अंगि ॥ ११ ॥
¹⁴अभिनव परि सिणगारीय¹⁵ नारीय मिलइं¹⁶ विसेसि ।
 चंदन¹⁷ भरइं कचोलीय चोलीय मंडनरेसि ॥ १२ ॥
 चंदनवन अवगाहीय¹⁸ नाहीय¹⁹ सरोवर²⁰ नीर²¹ ।
 मंदसुरभिहिमलक्षण दक्षण²² वाइं²³ समीर²⁴ ॥ १३²⁵ ॥
 नयर²⁶ निरोपीय²⁷ ती²⁸ वनु²⁹ जीवनु³⁰ तणउं युवान ।
 वासभुवनि³¹ तिहां³² विलसइं³³ जलसइं³⁴ अलीअल भाण³⁵ ॥ १४ ॥
 नव यौवन अभिराम ति रामति करइं³⁶ सुरंगि ।
 स्वर्गि जित्वा³⁷ सुर भासुर रासु रमइं वर अंगि³⁸ ॥ १५ ॥
 कामुकजनमनजीवन³⁹ ती⁴⁰ वनु⁴¹ नगर सुरंगु⁴² ।
 रासु करइं⁴³ अवभंगिहि⁴⁴ रंगिहिं राउ अनंगु⁴⁵ ॥ १६ ॥
 अलिजन वसइं अनंत रे⁴⁶ वसंत⁴⁷ तिहां परधान ।
 तरुअर वासनिकेतन केतन किशकसंतान ॥ १७⁴⁸ ॥
 वनि विलसइं⁴⁹ श्रीअनंदन⁵⁰ चंदनचंदनु⁵¹ मीतु⁵² ।
 रति अनइं⁵³ प्रीति सिउं⁵⁴ सोहए मोहए त्रिभुवन चीतु⁵⁵ ॥ १८ ॥
 गरुड मदनमहीपति दीपति सहण⁵⁶ न जाइ ।
 करइं⁵⁷ नवी कइं⁵⁸ जुगति रे⁵⁹ जगति⁶⁰ प्रतापु⁶¹ न माइ⁶² ॥ १९ ॥

- 1 सुखालीय S. 2 जालीय S. 3 em. गूधि pref.; गुजधि A, गुध C, गुख S. 4 विश्राम A. 5 जलि A. 6 सजकारीय SB. 7 झारीय SB. 8 सांघीय SB. 9 बांघीय S. 10 चंपक A. 11 वनि C, ... S. 12 हृदयचि S. 13 वेसु A. 14 S places vs 12 after vs. 13. 15 सिणगारीय B, सिणगारीय S: equally possible for adoption in the text. 16 मिलीय A, रमइं S. 17 चंदनि C. 18 अवगाहीय S. 19 न्हाइय A, नाहीय S. 20 सरोवरि A, सरोवरि S. 21 नीरि CS. 22 दक्षिण A. 23 (वाइं S), वाइं AB; तणइ C. 24 समीरि C. 25 C adds foll. vs. after 13: चंदनवन अवगाहीय नाहीय सरोवर नीरि । तीणवनि दीधु प्रदक्षण दक्षण तणइ समीरि ॥ 26 नयर A, नयरि B. 27 निरूपमु A, निरोपी B. 28 ते A, ती C. 29 वन BS. 30 जीवन BCS. 31 वासभुवन S. 32 तहिं A, तिह C, (तिहां BS). 33 विहसइं A, विलसइं B, विलसइ C, विलसए S. 34 जलसय A, जलसय S. 35 C reads as last quarter of vs. 14: जण सयला अलीयाण. 36 करइ BC, (करइ AS). 37 यस्या B, जिशां S. 38 मनरंगि CS. 39 *जीवन BS. 40 ती S. 41 वन BS. 42 सुरंग AS. 43 करइ S. 44 em. अवभंगिहि; नवभंगिहि C, अभंगिहि S. 45 C gives रासु...अनंगु as 16a, & मधुमाधव आमायत राय तणउं प्रति अंग as 16b. 46...BS. 47 वसंतु A. 48 C omits vs 17. 49 विरचइ A, विरचइ BS. 50 श्रीनंदनु A, श्रीनंदन S. 51 चंदनु चंदचउ A, चंदन चंदनु B. 52 मीत S, मीत BD. 53 em. अनि to scan. 54 शुं S. 55 चीत SD. 56 सहिणु S. 57 करइ SC. 58 परि S. 59 ... S. 60 जुगति S. 61 प्रताप CS. 62 बाइं A.

कुसुम तणुं¹ करि धणुह² रे गुणह³ रे⁴ भमरका⁵ माल ।
 लष⁶ लाषवी⁶ नवि चूकह⁷ मूकह⁸ शर सुकुमाल ॥ २० ॥
 मयण⁹ जी¹⁰ वयण निरोपए कोपए कोइ न आण ।
 मानिनीजनमन हाकए ताकए किशलकृपाण¹¹ ॥ २१ ॥
 हम देवी ऋधि¹² कामनी कामिनी किन्नरकंठि ।
 नेहगहेलीय¹³ मानिनी माननी मूकह¹⁴ गंठि ॥ २२ ॥
 कोइलि आंभुलाहलिहिं आलिहिं करह निनाहु¹⁵ ।
 काम तणुं¹⁶ करि¹⁷ आयसु¹⁸ आइसु¹⁹ पाइए²⁰ साहु²¹ ॥ २३ ॥
 अंभण²² थिय²³ न पयोहर मोह²⁴ रचउ²⁵ म गमारि ।
 मान रचउ²⁶ किस्वा²⁷ कारण तारुण²⁸ दीह विख्यारि ॥ २४ ॥
 नाहु²⁹ निछीछि³⁰ म गामदि सामदि मयलु³¹ अजाणि ।
 मयण³² महाभडु³³ न सहीह³⁴ सहीह³⁵ हणह³⁶ ए³⁷ बाणि ॥ २५ ॥
 हण³⁸ परि कोइलि कूजह³⁹ पूजह⁴⁰ युवति⁴¹ मनोर⁴² ।
 बिजुर बियोगिनी भूजह⁴³ कूजह⁴⁴ मयणकिशोर⁴⁵ ॥ २६ ॥
 जिम जिम विहसह⁴⁶ वणसह⁴⁷ विणसह⁴⁸ मानिनी मान⁴⁹ ।
 यौवन⁵⁰ मदिहिं ऊदं प ती⁵¹ दंपती⁵² थाइ⁵³ युवान⁵⁴ ॥ २७ ॥
 जे⁵⁵ किमह जगति⁵⁶ चालह सालह विरहिणी⁵⁷ अंगु⁵⁸ ।
 बोलह⁵⁹ विरह⁶⁰ करालीय⁶¹ बालीय⁶² ते⁶³ बहु भंगु⁶⁴ ॥ २८ ॥
 धूमह⁶⁵ मधुप सकेसर केसरमुकुलि⁶⁶ असंख ।
 चाकतह⁶⁷ रतिपति सुरहं परहं सुभट⁶⁸ कि शंख ॥ २९ ॥
 बडलि⁶⁹ बिलुबला⁷⁰ महुअर⁷¹ बहुअ⁷² रचहं झणकार ।
 मयणरहहं⁷³ किरि⁷⁴ आणदिण⁷⁵ बंदिण करहं कइवार⁷⁶ ॥ ३० ॥

1 तणुं A. 2 धणह S. 3...S. 4 भमरला A. 5 लषु A. 6 लाषव CS equally possible. 7 चूकर CS. 8 मूकर CS. 9 मयणु A. 10 जि A. 11 संतान B; vs. 21 is damaged in S. 12 रिधि A, ऋधि C, रिधि S. 13 गहेली A, गहेलीय C; गहेलीय S. 14 मूकह SC. 15 निनाद BSD. 16 तणुं A. 17 करउ C, करह S. 18 आइसि A, आयस BS. 19 आइसि A, आयसु B. 20 पाइए S, पाइह B. 21 साह SD. 22 जंभण B, जंभणु SD. 23 थिह B, रहि C, विर SD. 24 मोहु A. 25 रचु SD. 26 करउ C, रचु BS. 27 किशा BS, किता C. 28 तारुण A. 29 नाहु B. 30 निछीछि A, निछिछि S. 31 मइलु A, मयल S. 32 मयणु A. 33 महाभडु A. 34 सहीय B, सहीय S. 35 सही B, सहीय C. 36 हईह हणह C, हैह हणह S. 37 CS. 38 ईणह B, हण CS. 39 कूजह A, कूजह S. 40 पूजह A, पूजए C, पूजह S. 41 जुवति S. 42 मनोर A. C reads पूजए मयणकिशोर. 43 कूजह A, कूजह S. 44 युवतिमनोर C. 45 विहंसह A, विहसए CSS. 46 विणसह B, विणसए SS. 47 विणसए SS. 48 मानु A. 49 कामचह C. 50 ऊदं प ति A. 51 दंपति AB. 52 मलहं C. 53 जु वान S, (युवान S). 54 जह A (जे BS). 55 गजगति A, (जगति BS). 56 विरहिणी A, विरहणी B, (विरहिणी S). 57 अंग S. 58 बालह A, (बोलह B, बोलए S). 59 विरहि A. 60 करालीय S. 61 बालीय S. 62 जे S. 63 भंग S. 64 Note—A reads as vs. 28 last quarter: बालीय चोलीय अंगु. C omits vs. 28. Velankar considers the vs. spurious, as C omits it, and 28b is repeated in 38a. ABS, however, give the vs, and there are instances of repetition: cf. vss. 51b and 53b. 65 धूमह A. 66 मुकुल ABS. 67 चालह A. 68 सुभटि A. 69 बुलि BCS, बडल D. 70 बिलुला A. 71 महुअर A. 72 बहुअ A. 73 मयण C, मयणह S. 74 em. कि pref; (करह BCS). 75 अणुदिण A, आणदिण B, अणदिण S, आणदण D. 76 C reads as last quarter: बंदिण जयजयकार.

चापुका¹ तरुअरनी² कली³ नीकली सोवन⁴ वानि⁵ ।
 मारमारगजदीपक दीपक कलीय⁶ समान ॥ ३१ ॥
 बांधइ काम नि⁷ करकसु⁸ तरकसु पाडल फूल ।
 माहि रष्यां किरि केसर ते सरनिकर⁹ अमूल¹⁰ ॥ ३२ ॥
 आंशुल¹¹ मांजर¹² लागीय¹³ जागीय¹⁴ मधुकरमाल ।
 मूंकइ¹⁵ मार¹⁶ कि विरहीय¹⁷ हीअइ¹⁸ स धूमविराल¹⁹ ॥ ३३ ॥
 केसूयकली²⁰ अति वांकुडी आंकुडी मयणची जाणि ।
 विरहिणीनां²¹ इणि²² कालि ज कालिज काढण²³ ताणि ॥ ३४ ॥
 बीरसुभट कुसुमायुध आयुध शाल²⁴ अशोक ।
 किशाल जिखा²⁵ असि शबकइ शबकइ विरहिणी²⁶ लोक ॥ ३५ ॥
 पयिकभयंकर केतु कि केतुकिदल सुकुमार ।
 अवर ति²⁷ विरहविदारण²⁸ दारुण²⁹ करवतधार ॥ ३६ ॥
 हूम देखीय³¹ वनसंपइ³² कंपइ³³ विरहिणी³⁴ साधु ।
 आंसू³⁵ नयण निशां भरइ सांभरइ जिम जिम³⁶ नाथु ॥ ३७ ॥
 विरह³⁷ करालीय³⁸ बालीय³⁹ फालीय⁴⁰ चोलीय चंगु⁴¹ ।
 विषय गिणइ⁴² तृण⁴³ तोलइ बोलइ ते बहु भंगु⁴⁴ ॥ ३८ ॥
 रहि रहि तोरीय⁴⁵ जो इलि कोइलि स्युं⁴⁶ बहु वास ।
 नाहुळउ⁴⁷ अजीय⁴⁸ न⁴⁹ आवइ⁵⁰ भावइ⁵¹ मूं⁵² न बिलास ॥ ३९ ॥
 उर वरि हार⁵³ ते भार⁵⁴ मू सयरि⁵⁵ सिंगार⁵⁶ अंगार⁵⁷ ।
 चीतु⁵⁸ हरइ नवि चंदन⁵⁹ चंद⁶⁰ नही⁶¹ मनोहार⁶² ॥ ४० ॥
 सखि⁶³ मुझ⁶⁴ दूष अनीठउं⁶⁵ दीठउं⁶⁶ गमइ⁶⁷ न चीर⁶⁸ ।
 भोजनु⁶⁹ आजु⁷⁰ ऊछीठउं⁷¹ सीठउं⁷² खदइ⁷³ न नीर⁷⁴ ॥ ४१ ॥

1 चापुका A. 2 तरुअरनी A. 3 कुली S, कली S. 4 सोवन CS, सोवन S. 5 वान C. 6 जीअ S. 7 कामुकि A, कामिनी B, (कामिनी CS). 8 तरकस B, (करकसु AC), करकस SS. 9 सरसुकुल B, शरनिकर SS. 10 समूल SS. 11 आंशुले SB. 12 मांजरि A. 13 लागीअ S. 14 जागीअ S. 15 मूंकइ S. 16 मार SC. 17 विरहीअ A, विरहीअ S. 18 हेइ B, हईइ C, हीइइ S. 19 धूमवराल A. 20 केसूआ कुली S. 21 विरहिणीनां A. 22 इणइ B, इण C, इण S. 23 काढइ AS. 24 शाल S. 25 जिखा BS. 26 विरहीअ C. 27 Somits vs. 36 and instead repeats its text of vs. 29 (धूमइ मधुप etc.), with one variant reading, viz. चालइ. 28 ते A. 29 विदारण B. 30 दारण A. 31 देखी S. 32 वनसंपइ S. 33 कंपइ S. 34 विरहिणी A. 35 आंसू A. 36 भयभयं S. 37 विरहि AS. 38 करालीअ SB. 39 फालीय A, (बालीय BC, बालीअ S, बाली D). 40 बालीय A, (फालीअ BS, फालीय C, फाली D). 41 अंगु A, (चंगु B, चंग CDS). 42 गणइ A. 43 त्रिण S. 44 भंग A. 45 तोरीअ SB. 46 सिउं C, शूं S. 47 नाहु SC. 48 अजी CS. 49 नवि CS. 50 आवइ CS. 51 भावइ CS. 52 मूं S. 53 हार CS. 54 भार SB. 55 सहरि S. 56 शंगार BCS; em. शंगार pref. 57 अंगार SC. 58 चीत CS, चीतु B. 59 चंदनु A. 60 चंदु A. 61 नही CS. 62 मनोहार C, मनोहार S. 63 मार AB equally possible; (सखि CS). 64 मूं AB, सीइ S (मुझ O). 65 अनीठउं AS. 66 दीठउं AS. 67 गमइ S. 68 चीर S. 69 भोजन BSC. 70 आज BCS. 71 ऊछीठउं A, अछीठउं BS. 72 सदइ BS. 73 नीर BCS.

सकलकला¹ तूं² निशाकर शा³ करं⁴ सहरि⁵ संतापु⁶ ।
 अबल⁷ म मारि कलंकीय⁸ शंकीय⁹ भ्या¹⁰ हव¹¹ पापु¹² ॥ ४२ ॥
 भमरला¹³ छांछि न पावल¹⁴ पावल भ्यां अम्ह सहर¹⁵ ।
 चांदुला सहर¹⁶ संतापण आपण तां नही¹⁷ वहर¹⁸ ॥ ४३ ॥
 बहिनूए रहइ¹⁹ न²⁰ मनमथ मन मथतउ²¹ दीहराति ।
 अंगु²² अनोपम शोषइ²³ पोषइ²⁴ वयर²⁵ अराति²⁶ ॥ ४४ ॥
 कहि सखि²⁷ मुझ प्रीय²⁸ वातडी रातडी किमइ²⁹ न जाइ ।
 दोहिलु³⁰ मकरनिकेतन³¹ चेत³² नही³³ मुझ ठाइ ॥ ४५ ॥
 सखि³⁴ मुझ फरकइ जांचडी तां घडी बिहुं लगइ आजु³⁵ ।
 वृष सवे हव³⁶ वामिसु³⁷ पामिसु³⁸ प्रीय³⁹ तणूं⁴⁰ राजु⁴¹ ॥ ४६ ॥
 विरहु⁴² सहू तिह⁴³ भागलु⁴⁴ कागलु⁴⁵ कुरलतउ⁴⁶ पेधि ।
 वायसना गुण वरणए अरणए⁴⁷ त्यजीअ⁴⁸ विशेषि ॥ ४७ ॥
 धन धन वायस तूं⁴⁹ सर मूं सरवसु⁵⁰ तुंअ⁵¹ देसु ।
 भोजनि कूर करांडलु⁵² आंडलु⁵³ जरि⁵⁴ हुं⁵⁵ लहेसु ॥ ४८ ॥
 देसु कपूरची वासि रे वासि वली सरु⁵⁶ एउ ।
 सोवन⁵⁷ चांच निरूपम रूपम पांडुडी⁵⁸ बेउ ॥ ४९ ॥
 शकुन⁵⁹ विचारि संभाविआ⁶⁰ आविआ⁶¹ तीहं⁶² वालंभ ।
 रस⁶³ भरि निज प्रीय⁶⁴ निरपीय हरपीय⁶⁵ दिहं परिरंभ ॥ ५० ॥
 रंगि रमइं मनि⁶⁷ हरसीय⁶⁸ सरसीय⁶⁹ निज भरतारि ।
 दीसइं ते गयगमणीय⁷⁰ नमणीय⁷¹ कुचभर⁷² भारि ॥ ५१ ॥

1 सोलकला C. 2 तुय A, तुं BS, (तूं CS). 3 श्या A, स्या C, (शा BS). 4 कर ABC, (करं SS). 5 सयरि A. 6 संताप CS. 7 अबला S. 8 कलंकीय A, कलंकीअ BSS. 9 शंकि A, शंकीय B, शंकीअ SS. 10 रे B, (भ्या ACS). 11 हिव A, हवइ B, हव C, (हवं SS). 12 पापु ASS. 13 भमरला C. 14 पावल A. 15 सयर A. 16 सयर A, चीत C. 17 नही A. 18 वहर A, वयर C. 19 रहिय B, रहि S. 20 नही S. 21 मथतु BSC. 22 अंग ABS. 23 शोषइ CS. 24 पोषइ CS. 25 वयरू A, वहर B, वहरणि SD. 26 राति SD. 27 सहि A, सखी SS. 28 प्रीय A. 29 किमहि SS, (किमइ ABC). 30 दोहिलु A. 31 मकरनिकेतन A, मकरनिकेतनु B. 32 चेतु AB. 33 नही AB. 34 सखी S. 35 आज CS. 36 हिव A, हवअं B, हव C, (हवं S). 37 वामिसु S. 38 पामिसु S. 39 प्रीय A. 40 तणउं A, सिउं C. 41 राज CS. 42 विरह BCS. 43 तहि A, हवं C, तेह S, ते S; (तिह B; em. तिह prof.). 44 भागलु A. 45 कागलु A. 46 कुरलतउ A, कुरलतु BS, कुरलतु C; em. कुरलतु prof. 47 वरणइ अरणइ C. 48 त्यजीय A, ताजीअ B, त्यजइ SS, ताधि D. 49 तू A. 50 सरवस S. 51 तूं A, तूं C, (तुंअ B); em. तूंअ prof. 52 करंवलु A, करंवलु B, करांडलु S. 53 आंडलु A, आंडलु BS. 54 जरि A, जुरे B; (जरि CS; em. जुरि prof.). 55 हुं A. 56 सर CS. 57 सोवन BC equally possible. 58 पांडुडी A. 59 शकुनि C. 60 संभावीया AB. 61 आवीया AB. 62 तीहं BC, (तीहं AS). 63 निश B, निशि S. 64 प्रीय A. 65 हरिपिय A, हरपीअ SS. 66 S interpolates foll. vs. between vs. 50 and 51: रंगि रमइं अबला वनि अबनिमय जसु रंग । सहजि सलील मदालस आलसियां ताहां अंग ॥—evidently a repetition of vs. 54. 67 अति SD. 68 हरिसिय A, हरपीय B, हरपीअ S. 69 सरिसिय A, सरसीअ S. 70 गयगमणीय S. 71 नमणीअ BS. 72 कुचभर B, (कुचभर ACS).

कामिनी नाहुला¹ जीं सुख तीं सुखि² कहण³ न जाइ⁴ ।
 पामीय⁵ नइ प्रियसंगम⁶ अंग मनोहर थाइ⁷ ॥ ५२ ॥
 पूं⁸ भरी⁹ सिरि¹⁰ केतकि¹¹ सेत किया सिणगार¹² ।
 मिलीय¹³ ते मंडन सारीय¹⁴ नारीय¹⁵ स्युं¹⁶ भरतार ॥ ५३ ॥
 सहजि¹⁸ सलील मदालस आलसियां¹⁹ तीहं²⁰ अंग ।
 रासु²¹ रमइं अबला वलि लावनिसयरि²² सुरंग²³ ॥ ५४²⁴ ॥
 कान²⁵ कि²⁶ झलकइं²⁷ बीज नउ²⁸ बीजनउ²⁹ चंद³⁰ कि भालि ।
 गल हसइं³¹ सकलक³² मयंकह बिंबु³³ विशाल ॥ ५५³⁴ ॥
 मुख आगलि तूं³⁵ मलिन³⁶ रे नलिन³⁷ जई जलि नाहि³⁸ ।
 दंतह बीज दिपाडि म दाडिम तूं³⁹ जि तमाहि⁴⁰ ॥ ५६ ॥
 मणिमय कुंडल कानि रे वलि हसइं हरीयाल⁴¹ ।
 पंचमु आलवइ⁴² कंठि रे कंठि मुताहलमाल⁴³ ॥ ५७ ॥
 बीणि भणउं⁴⁴ कि भुजंगमु⁴⁵ जंगमु⁴⁶ मदनकृपाण⁴⁷ ।
⁴⁸किरि विषमायुधि प्रकटीय भृकुटीय धणुह समाण ॥ ५८ ॥
 सीमंत⁴⁹ सींदूरिहिं⁵⁰ पूरीउ⁵¹ पूरीउ⁵² मोतीय⁵³ चंग⁵⁴ ।
 राषडी जडीअ⁵⁵ कि माणिकि जाणिकि फणिमणि चंग⁵⁶ ॥ ५९⁵⁷ ॥
⁵⁸तीहं⁵⁹ सुखि मुनि मन⁶⁰ चालइ⁶¹ चालइं⁶² रथ कि अनंग⁶³ ।
 सूरसमान कि कुंडल मंडल⁶⁴ किया⁶⁵ बि रथंग ॥ ६० ॥

1 नाहुला D, पामइ C. 2 सुख BS. 3 कहिणूं S. 4 जाइ A. 5 पामी S. 6 प्रीअइ संगम S. 7 थाइ A. 8 पूं S. 9 भरी A. 10 शरि B, शिरे S. 11 केतुकि A. 12 सिंगार A, शिणगार S. 13 मिलिअ S. 14 सारिअ S. 15 नारीअ S. 16 झूं S. 17 AB read as 53b: दीसइं ते गबग-मणीय नमणीय कुसुमचइ (कुचभर B) भारि—evidently a repetition of 51b. Hence pref. मिलीय etc. of CS. 18 सहज S. 19 आलसीयां A, आलसिया B, आलसियां C, (आलसियां S). 20 तेह S, तीह B, तीहं A. 21 रास SBC. 22 लावनिसयर C, सहर S. 23 सुरंग C. 24 S places vs. 58 before vs. 55. 25 कानि DS, दंत C. 26 ... S. 27 झलकउ S. 28 नु BCD S. 29 बीजनु BCS. 30 चंद A. 31 हसइ S. 32 सकलकइ S. 33 बिंब S. 34 Order of vss. is 58, 59, 55, 56, 57, & 60 in C; and 58, 55, 56, 57, 61, 59, addl. vs. after 59, and 62 in S. 35 तूं AS. 36 अलिन C. 37 मलिन C. 38 न्हाइ A. 39 तूं AB. 40 SS read as the last quarter: दाडिम तूं मुखमाहि. 41 हरीआल S. 42 आलति A, आलवइ BS. 43 मुताउलिमाल C, मुक्ताफलहार BS. 44 भणूं BCS. 45 भूअंगम S. 46 अंगम CS. 47 यमुनतरंग C, यम नवरंग S. 48 CS read as 58b: राषडी जडीअ कि माणिकि जाणिकि फणिमणि चंग. Evidently an error as S repeats the same line in 59b. Note—After vs. 58 C interpolates the foll. two verses:—

उ (= ओं) ढणि रेडइ पडुलीय कुली अडागरपान । तिलकुसुमोपम नासिक वासि कपूर समान ॥

रोमाउली उत्तरीय निरतीय काजलवानि । जीपउ उदरि पंचानन आन नहीं उपमान ॥

49 सीसु A, सीस B, सइयउ C; (सीमंत S). 50 सीदूरि A, सीदूरिहि B, (सीदूरिहि SS), सिंदूरिय C. 51 पूरिय A, भरीय (भरीय सिंदूरिय) C. 52 पूरिय A. 53 मोतीअ BS. 54 चंगु AB. 55 जडीय A. 56 चंगु A. 57 C reads as 59b: हाथि अडागर पान रे वान रे नव नव रंग. S interpolates foll. vs. between 59 and 60:

पलवपेशल पाणि रे जाणे कुसुम सुकुमार । सरल तरल भुजदंड रे दंड कमलिनी नाल ॥

58 SD omit vs. 60. 59 तीहइ B. 60 जन B. 61 सालप A. 62 चालप A. 63 अनंग A.

64 कुंडल C. 65 रथअंग A, चरचंगु B.

5 भा. वि. मा. -

भमहि¹ कि मनमथ धणुहीय² गुणहीय³ वरतणु⁴ हार ।
 बाण कि नयण रे मोहइं सोहइं⁵ सयल संसार ॥ ६१⁶ ॥
 हरिण हरावइ⁷ जोतीय⁸ मोतीयनां⁹ शरि¹⁰ जाल¹¹ ।
 रंगि निरूपम अधर रे अधर कियो¹² परवाल ॥ ६२ ॥
 तिलकुसुमोपम नाकु¹³ रे लांकु¹⁴ रे लीजइ मूठि¹⁵ ।
 किशलय¹⁶ कोमल पाणि रे जाणि रे चोल मंजीठ ॥ ६३ ॥
 बाहुलता अति कोमल कमलमृणाल समान ।
 जीपइं उदरि¹⁷ पंचानन आनन¹⁸ नहीं उपमान¹⁹ ॥ ६४ ॥
 कुच बि अमीयकलसा²⁰ पणि²¹ थापणि²² तणीअ²³ अनंग ।
 तीहचु²⁴ राषणहार²⁵ रे²⁶ हार²⁷ कि²⁸ धवल भूअंग²⁹ ॥ ६५ ॥
 नमणि करइं न पयोधर योध र³⁰ सुरतसंग्रामि³¹ ।
 कंचुक त्यजइं संनाहु³² रे नाहु³³ महाभडु³⁴ पामि ॥ ६६ ॥
 नाभि गंभीर सरोवर³⁵ उरवरि त्रिवलि तरंग ।
 जघन समेखल पीवर चीवर पहिरणि³⁷ चंग ॥ ६७ ॥
 निरूपमपणइं³⁸ विधि³⁹ तां घडी जांघडी उपम न जाइ ।
 करि कंकण पाइ⁴⁰ नेउर केउर⁴¹ बांहडीआइं⁴² ॥ ६८ ॥
 अलविहिं⁴³ लोचन मींचइं⁴⁴ हींचइं⁴⁵ दोलिहिं⁴⁶ एकि ।
 एकि हणइं प्रियु⁴⁷ कमलि रे रमलि⁴⁸ करइं जलि⁴⁹ एकि⁵⁰ ॥ ६९ ॥
 एकि दिइं सह⁵¹ लालीय तालीय छंदिहिं⁵² रास ।
 एकि⁵³ दिइं⁵⁴ उपालंभ रे⁵⁵ वालंभरहिं⁵⁶ सबिलास⁵⁷ ॥ ७०⁵⁸ ॥

1 भमह A. 2 धुणहीय A, धणुहीअ S. 3 गुण हैअइह S. 4 वर S. 5 em. सोहइ मोहइ pref. for meaning; cf. vs. 18b. 6 C reads as 61b: बाण कि नयण कडाखला नाक रच्यां नलीआर. 7 हरावइं S. 8 जोतीय S. 9 मोतीअनां S. 10 शन A, सिरि C, (शरि BS). 11 जालि A. 12 जित्या B, जिशा S equally possible for adoption in the text. 13 नाक S. 14 लांक S. 15 मूठि S. 16 किसल जि C. 17 उदर हरावइं S. 18 आन C. 19 उपमानु A. 20 अमीय कुच कला C, अमीय कुचकलशा S—equally possible for the text. 21 पुणि C. 22 थापणि A. 23 तणीय A. 24 तीहंचउ A. 25 राषणहार S. 26 कि A, (रे BCS). 27 हार SC. 28 ति A, (कि BCS). 29 भुजंग A, (भूअंग B, भूअंग CS). 30 रे CS, equally possible. 31 सुरतसंग्राम S. 32 संनाह S. 33 नाह S. 34 महाभड BC. 35 S interpolates foll. vs. between vs. 66 and 67: उन्नतकुच किरि हिमगिरि शिखरि ते मध बईठ । हार नीझरणप्रवाह रे नाहु मई झीलतु दीठ ॥ Evidently appears an interpolation on account of its very corrupt text, and defective rhyme. 36 सरोवरि C. 37 पहिरणि A. 38 निरूपमपणइं S. 39 विधि S. 40 पाइ A, पाये S. 41 केयुर C, केयूर S. 42 बांहडीयाइं C, बाहुडीआइं S. 43 अलविहिं A. 44 मींचइं SB. 45 हिंचइं A, हिंचए C, (हींचइं BS); em. हींचइं pref. to rhyme. 46 दोलिहिं A, दोलिहिं B, दोलइं C. 47 करि C, प्रीय S. 48 कमलि B. 49 जल A. 50 केलि A. 51 सह AB. 52 छंदि A, छंदि C. 53 एक SS. 54 दि SS. 55 उपालंभ A. 56 वालंभरइं CS. 57 सुविचार S. 58 S gives 70b as the first *carana*, and the foll. as the second: बोलवइं एकि महुअर बहुअर रचइं क्षणकार ॥

मुरकलइ¹ मुख मचकोडइ मोडइ ललवल अंग ।
 वानि सुवर्ण² वपोडइ³ लोडइ⁴ नितु⁵ नवरंग⁶ ॥ ७१⁷ ॥
 पाडल छइ⁸ अति कूँअली तूं⁹ अलीअल¹⁰ म धंओलि ।
 तूं गुणवेध¹¹ ति साचउं¹² काचउं¹³ मही¹⁴ म विरोलि¹⁵ ॥ ७२¹⁶ ॥
 कंटकसंकटि एवडइ केवडइ पइसीय¹⁷ भृंगु¹⁸ ।
 छयलपणइ गुण माणइ जाणइ परिमल रंगु¹⁹ ॥ ७३ ॥
 वडलसिरी²⁰ मदभीमल²¹ इ²² भलपणुं अलि राजु²³ ।
 संपति विणु²⁴ सुकुमालती²⁵ मालती वीसरी आजु²⁶ ॥ ७४ ॥
 चालइ नेहपराहणु²⁷ जाणउं²⁸ भलु²⁹ सखि³⁰ भृंगु³¹ ।
 अलग थिकउं³² अति³³ नमण इ³⁴ दमण इ³⁵ लिइ रसरंगु³⁶ ॥ ७५³⁷ ॥
 बालइ³⁸ विलसिवा विमर³⁹ न⁴⁰ भमर⁴¹ निहालि⁴² म⁴³ मागु⁴⁴ ।
 आवरियां⁴⁵ इणि⁴⁶ नियगुण⁴⁷ नीगुण⁴⁸ स्युं⁴⁹ तुल्ला लागु⁵⁰ ॥ ७६ ॥
 केस्य⁵¹ गरबु⁵² म तूं⁵³ धरि मूं⁵⁴ शरि⁵⁵ भमर⁵⁶ बईठ ।
 मालतीविरह⁵⁷ बहु⁵⁸ वहइ⁵⁹ हूअवह⁶⁰ भणीय⁶¹ पईठ⁶² ॥ ७७ ॥
 सखि⁶³ अलि चलण⁶⁴ न चांपइ चांपइ लिअइ⁶⁵ न⁶⁶ गंधु⁶⁷ ।
 रूडइ⁶⁸ दोहग⁶⁹ लागइ आगइ इस्यु⁷⁰ निबंघु⁷¹ ॥ ७८ ॥
 [नितु नितु चरीअण⁷³ मरूउओं⁷⁴ गरूउओं गंध कुरंगि ।
 भमर भमी भमी⁷⁵ झीणओं⁷⁶ लीणओं तस रस रंगि ॥]

1 मुरकलइ A. 2 स धनुष A, स सुवन B, (सुवर्ण S). 3 वपोडइ A, विषोडइ S. 4 लोडइ A. 5 चित्तु A. 6 सुरंगु A. 7 C gives the foll. addl. vs. after 71:

प्रीयरहइ दिई ललसलतीय वलतीय ऊतरवाणि । वचन किरण निशाकर साकर परतए जाणि ॥

8 कली A, (छइ BCS). 9 तुं A. 10 अलीअल A. 11 गुणि विधउं (=ओं) C. 12 साचउं S. 13 काचउं S. 14 महीउं A. 15 रेलि A. 16 In BCS vs. 73 precedes vs. 72—perhaps a more likely order. But for convenience of reference to my edition, the A order is retained here. 17 पइसी A, पइसीअ S. 18 भृंग S. 19 भृंग S. 20 वुलसिरी C, वुलशरी S. 21 मदभीमल S. 22 इ S. 23 राज A; S reads as last quarter: इ भलुं अलि तणू राज. 24 विण BS. 25 तणु मालती A. 26 आज AS, जाइ C. 27 पराणउ A, पुराणु न B, पराण न S. 28 जाण S. 29 भलु A. 30 सखी S. 31 भृंग S. 32 थिकु CS, थिउ A (थिकउ B). 33 गुण CS. 34 निपुणइ B, विमण ए CS, (गुण विमणए CD equally possible for the text). 35 ए S. 36 रसरंग CS. 37 C has a different vs. order, viz. 78, 77, 75, addl. vs. नितु नितु, 76, 79, 80, 81 and 84. S has the vs. order 76, 75, 77, 78, addl. vs. नितु नितु, 79, 80, 83, addl. vs. दमणए and 84. 38 चालइ A. 39 विवर A, विवर B, (विमर C). 40 रे A, न BC, ... S. 41 भमर AB. 42 निहालइ AB, निहालए S. 43 ABS. 44 माग SC. 45 आचरियां A. 46 तीणं A, ईणइ B, ईण S. 47 तीगुण C, निगुण B, नीगुण DS. 48 नीगुण S. 49 स्यु S. 50 लाग S. 51 केस्य A S. 52 गरव S. 53 तुं A. 54 मूं S. 55 सिरि A. 56 भलु C. 57 विरहिं A. 58 बहुअ A, em. बहुअ pref. 59 दहु A, विहइ B, वह C, (वहइ S). 60 अवहु A, हूं हव B, हूं हवइ D, (हूअवह C), हूं हवं S. 61 भणी A, भणीअ S. 62 बइठ A. 63 सखी S. 64 चलणि B, अलवि C. 65 लिइ CD, लि S. 66 नवि S. 67 गंध S. 68 रूडउ A. 69 सोहग C. 70 एइ C, इस्यु S. 71 निबंघु CS. 72 CS give this vs., while AB omit it; it is quite likely to belong to the original. 73 करचीय C. 74 This is उं = ओ pron. short. 75 S. 76 रीणउ S.

भमर¹ भमंत² गुणागर³ अगरज⁴ कोरिड⁵ कोइ⁶ ।
 अजीयज⁷ तीणइ⁸ वरांस⁹ वांस¹⁰ विणासइ सोइ ॥ ७९ ॥
 मूरख¹¹ प्रेम¹² सुहांतीय¹³ जातीय¹⁴ गईअ¹⁵ म¹⁶ चीति¹⁷ ।
 विहसीय¹⁸ नवीय¹⁹ नीमालीय²⁰ बालीय²¹ मांडि न²² प्रीति ॥ ८० ॥
 २३ एक थुडि²⁴ वडल नइ²⁵ वेडल बेड लतां²⁶ नव भेड²⁷ ।
 भमर बिचालि²⁸ किय्या²⁹ मरं³⁰ पामर विलसिन बेड ॥ ८१ ॥
 ३१ मकरंदि मातीय पदमिनी³² पदमिनी जिम नव नेह³³ ।
 अवसरि³⁴ ले³⁵ रसु मूंकइ चूकइ भमर न देह³⁶ ॥ ८२ ॥
 ३७ भमर पलास करांबुला³⁸ आंबुला³⁹ आंबिली छांडि⁴⁰ ।
 कुचभरि फलित कि⁴¹ तरुणीअ⁴² करुणीअ⁴³ स्युं⁴⁴ रति मांडि ॥ ८३⁴⁵ ॥
 इण⁴⁶ परि निज⁴⁷ प्रिय⁴⁸ रंजवइ⁴⁹ मुजवयण इणि⁵⁰ ठाइ ।
 धनु धनु⁵¹ ते गुणवंत वसंतविलासु⁵² जि⁵³ गाइ⁵⁴ ॥ ८४⁵⁵ ॥

1 भमरि A. 2 भमंत C. em. भमंतु pref. to scan. 3 गुणु करइ A, गुण करइ S. 4 अगुहजि A, अगरजा S. 5 कोरिड A, करीअ S. 6 जोइ BS, equally possible. 7 अजीयरे A, अजीय B, अजीअज S. 8 तीणि A, तीण C, तीण S. 9 वरांसइ A, विरासइ B, वरांसइ S. 10 वंस AB, वंश S. 11 पूरव C. 12 प्रेमि C. 13 सुहांतीय S. 14 जातीय S. 15 गईअ A, गई S. 16 ह्य C. 17 चीति A. 18 विहसीअ S. 19 वन C, नव S. 20 निवालीय A, निमालीअ S. 21 मालीय C, बालीअ S. 22 मंडि A, मांडि न B, मांडि म C, (मांडि न S). 23 S omits vs. 81. 24 थुड AB. 25 विलगि न C. 26 लता BC. 27 नेहु A. 28 विचालइ A. 29 किशा B, किशा C. 30 मरइ A. 31 CS omit vs. 82. 32 पदमिनि A. 33 नेहु A. 34 अवसरी AB; em. अवसरि. 35 लेव B. 36 देहु A. 37 C omits vs. 83. 38 कसां बुला A, करा बुला B, करां बला S. 39 आंबला S. 40 छांडी A, छाडि B, (छांडि S). 41 फलत कि A. 42 तरुणीय A, करुणी S. 43 करुणी A, करणीअ B, तरुणीअ S. 44 सिड B, झू S. 45 S interpolates foll. vs. between vs. 83 and 84:

दमण प गुण मदि मातउ रातउ रूपिह भृंग । कुंद कु(सु)म रमाडप छांडप पारधि गंछ ॥

S has total 88 vss.; this is 87th there. 46 इणइ B, इण C. 47 नितु B, ... C, (निज AS). 48 प्रीय S. 49 रंजवइ A. 50 इणि B, तीण C. 51 धनधन S. 52 वसंतविलास BCS, 53 जे BC, वे S. 54 गाइ A, गाइ S. 55 For colophons of ABCS cf. my edn. pp. xv, xvii, 79 and iii.

Drama in Old Gujarat

By Acharya G. V. Joshi

In common with many other Hindu arts and sciences, the germs of the histrionic art reach far back in antiquity. Even the *R̥gveda*, the oldest literary record of the Indo-Aryans, shows considerable traces of dramatic material in hymns like the Saramā-Paṇi hymn (X, 108), the Viśvāmitra-Nadī hymn (III, 33), Agni-Deva hymn (X, 51), the Yama-Yamī hymn (X, 10), the Purūravas-Urvaśī hymn (X, 95), etc. It is well-known that some stories like that of S'unaḥś'epa were sung during the "intervals" of the As'vamedha and other sacrifices as part of the sacrificial ritual! On such occasions legends relating to different gods and goddesses were represented on 'stage', though the show must naturally have been crude. We find that S'ailūṣa (=an actor) is mentioned in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* as one of the offerings in the Puruṣamedha sacrifice. Then in Paṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, we come across two aphorisms which mention S'ilālī and Kṛśās'va, as authors of the Naṭasūtras : Dramaturgical aphorisms¹. It seems that in Patañjali's times, dramas were commonly performed on the stage². The *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* mention 'dances' and 'actors' while the *Harivamśa* (chaps. 92-93) states that a complete drama entitled "*Nalakūbara*" was staged by Pradyumna, Sāmba and others. Thus the dramatic art has an ancient and a long pedigree and has had an equally extensive period of development.

Despite so many scattered references to dramatic art since times immemorial, it remained for Bharata, to evolve out of these, a science deserving the title *Nāṭyas'āstra* describing the technique and the stage-representation of a drama along with hints for actors. He has been referred to as 'Ādi-Bharata' or 'Bharatamuni' or sometimes as 'Cirantana', which shows the reverential awe in which he was held by his successors. From the statement, शेषं प्रस्तारतन्त्रेण कोहलः कथयिष्यति (*Nāṭyas'āstra*, 37, 18), some scholars hold the *Nāṭyas'āstra* as the work of more than one author. Rājas'ekhara in his *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, I, 4 gives a long list of preceptors along with Bharatācārya. Excepting Suvarṇanābha and Kucamāra, whose names are found in Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*³, these writers are completely unknown. Bharata's *Nāṭyas'āstra* is the only work that has survived the ravages of time. Dr. S. K. De does not attach much importance to Rājas'ekhara's list, saying that it was a practice among old rhetorecians to

1 See *Pūrvamīmāṃsā* for Pāriplava.

2 Cf. *Pāṇini*, ४-३-१०; ४-३-११.

3 See *Mahābhāṣya*, iii, 2. III.

4 *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* (G. O. Series), p. 1.

5 सुवर्णनाभः साम्प्रयोगिकम् (कामसूत्र १-१-१३)
कुचमार औपनिषदिकम् (कामसूत्र १-१-१७)

claim a hoary antiquity for their science by giving a long list of venerable names as its first propounders⁶. We do not agree with this view. Many works by ancient authors are known in name only, and it would not be proper because of this alone to say that they never existed. After all, Suvarṇanābha and Kucamāra have been specially pointed out by Vātsyāyana and Rājas'ekhara. And even Bharata refers to the existence of other dramaturgists by referring to as "anyaiḥ", "anyairapi" etc.

So it is quite probable that there were a good many dramaturgists before Bharata or contemporary with him. Bharata's *Nāṭyas'āstra* is the first complete treatise available to us, though some scholars hold the *Agnipurāṇa* to be the first work of its type, basing their argument on a passage from the *Kāvyaṇṣa*, a commentary on the *Kāvyaṇṣa*, which says: सुकुमारान् राजकुमारान् स्वादुकाव्यप्रवृत्तिद्वारा गहने शास्त्रान्तरे आवर्तयितुमग्निपुराणादुद्धृत्य काव्यरसास्वादकरण-मलङ्कारशास्त्रकारिकाभिः संक्षिप्य भरतमुनिः प्रणीतवान्।⁷ This was written circa 1700 A. D. and it is supported by another commentator Bhūṣaṇa. But all this is patently untenable because the *Agnipurāṇa* itself says:

वाक्प्रधाना नरप्राया स्त्रीयुक्ता प्राकृतोक्तिता ।
भरतेन प्रणीतत्वाद्भारती-रीतिरुच्यते ॥

Agnipurāṇa 340-5.

From this it is clear that *Bhāratī Rīti* got its designation from the old Bharata-muni, who also writes in his *Nāṭyas'āstra* thus:

या वाक्प्रधाना पुरुषप्रयोज्या स्त्रीवर्जिता संस्कृतवाक्ययुक्ता ।
स्वनामधेयैर्भरतैः प्रयुक्ता सा भारती नाम भवेत्तु वृत्तिः ॥

(*Nāṭyas'āstra*.....)

Thus the *Agnipurāṇa* has borrowed from Bharata's work. There is another argument to support the claim of Bharata as the first propounder of the *Nāṭyas'āstra*. The number of 'the figures of speech' has been increasing with the passage of time. In Bharata, we find only 4 figures of speech viz. Upamā, Dīpaka, Yamaka and Rūpaka. The *Agnipurāṇa* incorporates more than treble this number and the *Kāvyaṇṣa* following the *Agnipurāṇa* develops them into 37 figures of speech.

Though the date of the *Nāṭyas'āstra* is much in dispute, it goes without saying that Bharata preceded Bhāsa, who has mentioned him with respects. Since Bhāsa is generally placed in 200 B. C., Bharata may be said to have lived at least in about 300-400 B. C.

The *Nāṭyas'āstra* is mainly concerned with Drś'yakāvya⁸ i.e. poetry of the sight or drama. It consists of 37 chapters, many of which describe in detail the various modes and methods of acting. Chaps. VI and VII deal with Rasa or sentiment. Chapter XVI deals with Alamkāras or figures of speech

6 S. K. De, *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. I.

7 *Kāvyaṇṣa*, Introduction, Page 37.

(Yāmanāchārya's *Ṭīkā*).

and chapter XVIII gives ten different types of drama. At the outset, a traditional anecdote which says that Brahman, at the request of many sages, created this Nāṭya-veda, to serve as an excellent entertainment for all castes including the Sūdras taking the recitational part from the *Rgveda*, the singing from the *Sāmaveda*, the acting from the *Yajurveda* and the sentimental or emotional part from the *Atharvaveda*⁸. This anecdote is worthy of notice since it shows that one of the main objects of the dramatic art was to import religious instruction to the lower castes, which could not receive Vedic education.

Thus Bharata planted the first seed which was destined to grow vigorously later on. His technique was followed respectfully by all dramatists from As'vaghōṣa, Bhāsa and Saumilla to Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti and S'rīharṣa etc. In fact Sanskrit literature in every branch had begun to show signs of considerable development and authoritative works on every art and science were produced during the period of 800 A. D. to 1200 A. D., which may rightly be called the "Golden Age" of literary and scientific activity. Many great names including Ānandavardhana, Dhanañjaya, Mammāṭa, S'rīharṣa etc, which command respect and authority belong to this period.

Gujarata also contributed its own share to this creative period. The great Kalikālasarvajña Hemacandrācārya flourished and wrote at this very time, and his contribution to literature in all its branches stands out as a great landmark in the history of Gujarata. These were the times when Gujarata was enjoying benevolent rule of Siddharāja and Kumārapāla, under whom Gujarati attained a glorious age. Due to the ceaseless activities of its proficient merchants, wealth was flowing in from all quarters. The kings added permanent renown to their names by conquering new territories. Arts and sciences began to receive royal patronage. The shrewd and business-minded people of Gujarata did not ignore cultural and artistic pursuits in the midst of their luxury and opulence. The age symbolised its greatness in the person of Hemcandrācārya, whose genius and creative faculty were of the highest order. Hemacandrācārya inspired the mind and influenced the lives of the whole country. Without Cānakya's unscrupulousness and slightly unbecoming cunning, Hemacandrācārya played Cānakya to Kumārapāla. Shri K. M. Munshi rightly describes him: If anyone can ever claim to be the first man to give Gujarata a distinct cultural individuality it is this Moḍh-Bania of Dhanduk—this doyen of rhetoricians, this prince among grammarians, this 'Ocean of knowledge'⁹. He was an apostle of Aryan culture. To him Sanskrit was not a language but life itself and the classical Kāvya, grammar and poets were the source of his inspiration. Though a zealous propagandist of his faith, he was not a separatist. He gave his sect an honourable status in the cultural life of India and became the greatest representative of the classical learning of his time.

8. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, I. 2. 16.

9 K. M. Munshi, *Gujarata and its Literature*.

In his *Kāvyañusāsana* Hemacandra deals with the whole range of poetry. He himself has written a gloss (*ṛtti*) and a commentary (*Tīkā*) on his own work. The work consists of eight chapters. In the last chapter he discusses Drama (i. e. Drś'yakāvya) and its technique. He describes in detail the twelve different types of drama and the modes of acting. He also refers to other works on the same subjects and mentions even Bharata at several places¹⁰. Thus the credit for initiating scientific discussion on Dramaturgy goes to Kalikālasarvajña Hemacandrācārya. It was not therefore surprising to find pupils hurrying to study at his feet.

Everyone who had a desire to draw on the great savant's store of knowledge came to him. Almost all his pupils are distinguished in their attainments and learning. Among the more illustrious of them may be mentioned Udayacandra, Guṇacandra, Yaś'as'candra, Devasūri, Mahendrasūri, Vardhamāna, Devacandra etc, every one of whom has at least written two works.

Rāmacandra, the author of the celebrated *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* was the foremost among Hemacandra's pupils. Not much is known about the personal history of the author. Pandit Lalacandra Gandhi in his introduction to the *Nalavilāsa* says: Rāmacandra was born in 1145 V. S. (1202 A. D.) He got the title of 'Sūri' in 1166 V. S. (1223 A. D.). He accepted Hemacandra as his guru in 1228 V. S. (1284 A. D.), became his *pattadhara*, and died in 1230 V. S. (1287 A. D.)¹¹ The *Prabhāvakacarita* which describes the life of Hemacandra provides excellent evidence to prove that Rāmacandra was regarded as the best person to keep on the tradition of the guru on his (Hemacandra's) own saying.¹²

We need not enter into these details here nor need we say much regarding the other works, except his dramas and the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*. Rāmacandra is credited with eleven dramas, which are—*Nalavilāsa*, *Raghuvilāsa*, *Yadvilāsa*, *Satyaharis'candra*, *Nirbhayabhāmayāyoga*, *Mallikāmakaranda*, *Rāghavābhyaśaya*, *Rohiṇinirgāṇkaprakaraṇa*, *Vanamālānāṭikā*. Besides these, in collaboration with Guṇacandra, he wrote the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* and also a *Ṛtti* (gloss) thereon.

To produce a dramatic work is by no means an easy task. Vis'akhadatta rightly compares the various preliminaries and troubles that a politician has to

10 विस्तरस्तु ब्रह्म-भरत-कोहलादिशास्त्रेभ्योऽवगन्तव्यः ।

Kāvyañusāsana, Page 449.

11 *Nala-Vilās*, Introduction, G. O. S.

12 राज्ञा श्रीसिद्धराजेनान्यदाऽनुयुज्ये प्रभुः ।

भबतां कोऽस्ति पट्टस्य योग्यः शिष्यो गुणाधिकः ॥

तमस्माकं दर्शयत चित्तोत्कर्षाय मामिव ।

आह श्रीहेमचन्द्रश्च न कोऽप्येव हि चिन्तकः ।

आद्योप्यभूदिलापालः सत्पात्राम्बोधिचन्द्रमाः ।

सज्ञानमहिमस्यैर्यं मुनीनां किं न जायते ।

कल्पद्रुमसमे राशि तयोदृशि कृतस्थितौ ।

अस्त्यामुष्यायणो रामचन्द्राख्यः कृतिशेखरः ॥

undergo with those of a dramatist¹³. A drama is taken by some to be a miniature encyclopaedia¹⁴. And Rāmacandra was the author of no less than eleven dramas, proving his high creative faculty.

Nāṭyadarpaṇa can easily be placed among the most authoritative works on dramaturgy in Sanskrit. It consists of 4 chapters (Vivekas), viz. *Nāṭaka-nirṇaya*, *Prakaraṇādyekādas'arūpanirṇaya*, *Vṛttirasabhāvābhīmayavicāra*, *Sarvarūpakasādhāraṇalakṣaṇanirṇaya*. The joint authors themselves have written the commentary: No less than fifty dramatic compositions, most of which are unprocurable today have been laid under contribution for illustrating rules and definitions in the work. Illustrations from '*Devacandragupta*' which is an uncovered drama by Viśākhadatta are also to be met with in the work. These illustrations throw considerable light on the Gupta period. The *Devacandragupta* thus informs us that Rāmagupta, the elder son of Samudragupta had ascended the throne, for sometime between Candragupta and Samudragupta—a fact quite unknown otherwise. The drama may have probably dealt with Rāmagupta's times, his deeds and misdeeds, the cause of his death and such other matters.

Rāmacandra in his *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* has devoted much attention to the Nāṭyas'āstra and Rasas'āstra and has made bold to deviate from traditional conceptions of them, by giving his own independent and original views. Traditional theorists, among whom may be included Hemacandra, the author's guru, mention that Rasa or sentiment is of the same nature as that of the bliss obtaining from the knowledge of Brahman. But Rāmacandra does not flinch from dividing 'Rasa' into two categories, viz. '*sukhātma-rasa*' and '*duḥkhātma-rasa*'. The '*sukhātma-rasa*' consists of *s'ṛṅgāra*, *vīra*, *hāsyā*, *adbhūta* and *s'ānta*, and the '*duḥkhātma-rasa*' includes such other '*rasa*' as *karuṇa*, *raudra*, *bībhatsa*, and *bhayaṇaka*. He furnishes arguments in support of his classification. He says that people go to the theatre to see a full and faithful representation of life, not merely the lighter sides of it. As life offers both joy and sorrow, it is but natural that people also see and experience both joy and sorrow, while witnessing a drama which is sometimes called a mirror.¹⁵

Rāmacandra is thus in complete opposition to his predecessors as far as his rasa-theory is concerned.

The forerunners of Rāmacandra maintain that the actor cannot himself experience the feelings and sentiments, which he enacts on the stage. In contradicting this opinion Rāmacandra asserts that it is impossible for an actor to remain unmoved by the sentiments, which he is enacting before the audience and which succeed even in moving the audience. He cites the case of the

13 *Mudrārākṣasa*, IV, 3rd Śloka.

14 न तच्छास्त्रं न सा विद्या न तच्छिल्पं न ताः कलाः ।
नास्तौ योगो न तज्ज्ञानं नाटके यत्र दृश्यते ॥

15 *Kāvya-prakāśa*, *Ullhāsa* IV.

6 भा. वि. मा.

courtezans and singers, who while they entertain others, cannot but themselves feel happy¹⁶. Rāmacandra has some excellent things to say on acting¹⁷.

We thus see what a valuable work the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* is and what a wealth of knowledge and information must have been at the author's command. It is not an easy task to oppose the firmly-established authoritative theories of the ancient thinkers. All his arguments are clothed in a smooth and pleasing style of writing, even though the subject dealt with is dry.

Nalavilāsa :—There are no less than forty works based on the Nala-episode, including epics, narratives, dramas etc. Here is Rāmacandra who gives his own version of the Nala story in dramatic form. He has introduced some changes in the original from the *Mahābhārata* to suit his purpose and enhance the dramatic effect. Some incidents like the message of Nala with the golden swan and the entrance of Kali in Nala's body being obviously incapable of being represented on the stage, had to be properly adopted for the stage. But Rāmacandra's changes serve only to enhance the beauty of the original. In each and every act the genius of the dramatist is clearly felt. There are many passages in the drama, which will not fail to move the reader. Many phrases can pass off as *Subhāṣitas*¹⁸. The poetic diction is also appealing. Rāmacandra was conscious of his powers of expression like Jagannātha and Bhavabhūti¹⁹. He makes the reader visualise the scene by his description and dialogue. The *Svayanivara*-scene is one of the most effective ones and reminds us of the similar incident from the *Raghuvamśa*. The reader cannot but be touched by the pathos of the parting scene of Nala and Damayanti in Act IV, and may recall the moving grandeur of the similar scene in *Uttararāmacarita*, though the latter is obviously more powerful.

Another excellent dramatic piece by the same author is *Kaumudī-Mitrāṇandam*, a bourgeois comedy. The plot is made up of a number of incidents loosely woven together as in the *Kathās*. It is very much inferior to the *Prakarāṇa*-masterpiece, the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, but has some delightful touches. At places, it displays characteristic humour, free from allegory and free from aggressively propagandistic features of Jain works. While on sea-voyage, with his friend Maitreya, Mitrāṇanda, a merchant is stranded in an island occupied by a gang of swindlers disguised as ascetics. The leader of the gang had a novel method of robbing people. He would entice the prospective victim to marry his daughter and after marriage, would contrive to have him flung into a pit under the nuptial chamber. But on the occasion when Mitrāṇanda made love with Kaumudī, she really falls in love with her father's intended victim and reveals to him the impending danger. Both seek safety in eloping to

16 स्थायीभावः श्रितोत्कर्षो विभाव्य व्याभिचारिभिः ।

स्पष्टानुभावनिश्चयः सुखदुःखात्मको रसः ॥

नाट्यदर्पण. 158

17 *Ibid.*

18 *Satya-Harīscandra* (Cf. original).

19 *Nalavilāsa-Prastāvanā*; *Satya-Harīscandra-Prastāvanā*.

Ceylon. Their path is however beset with danger. Mitrāṇanda taken for a thief is arrested but is saved by the king whose son he has cured of snake-bite. The king leaves him and Kaumudī in charge of a minister. The minister enamoured of Kaumudī sends away Mitrāṇanda to one of the king's vassals, who wants a victim for a human sacrifice. Mitrāṇanda is however recognised and saved by his friend Maitreya, who happens to be in great favour with the vassal. Kaumudī is turned out of the minister's house by his jealous wife. She wanders for a while, until she meets Sumitrā, daughter of a merchant. Both are captured by Prince Vajravarman, along with Sumitrā's family. While in captivity Kaumudī and Sumitrā meet Makaranda, a friend of Mitrāṇanda. Sumitrā marries Makaranda and the ties begin their unhappy adventures. They encounter a Kāpālīka, who, in order to kill Makaranda, revives a corpse, but the resurrected man kills the Kāpālīka instead. They then repair to the king of Ceylon and find Mitrāṇanda there. The drama, so full of incoherent marvels, ends happily as Kaumudī meets her long-lost husband.

Here is a specimen of the author's treatment of the theme :—

The lovers have been walking for a long time. Mitrāṇanda offers to massage Kaumudī's tired feet. Abashed she would not let him do so. To ignore manners was not praiseworthy for the daughter-in-law of a respectable family. Then follows this dialogue²⁰ :—

Mitrāṇanda :—(To himself) She does not know my family nor my temper. I have not conferred upon her any obligation and yet this dark-eyed one has given up her relatives for me. Really women are thoughtless when in love. (To Kaumudī) Dear, you have willingly undertaken great hardships ; let your home, borne cold, heat and wind ; wandered on foot ; made yourself laughing stock of relatives who loved you so long and all this for me ! a merchant from a very distant country, whose family, character and wealth you do not know, whose love you cannot be sure of. You wish to climb a mountain but blindly. You wish to cross the ocean without even a crackle-shell to convey you accross without remedy at hand, you have lashed a snake to fury.

Kaumudī :— Āryaputra, all women behave like this. Why are you surprised at this conduct of mine ? Women inspired by love, leave their long cherished family for lovers, whom they have seen but for a moment.

क्षणमात्रदृष्ट प्रियजनप्रेमभरोद्विह्वलामहिला ।
 त्विरपरिचितानपि मुञ्चन्ति बान्धवानेषा किल प्रकृतिः ॥
 वीरेषु गणनां पूर्वं परमहन्ति योषितः ।
 यास्तृणायाभिमन्यन्ते प्राणान्प्रेमान्धचेतसः ॥
 देशं व्रजन्ति विषमं सहन्ते दुःखं आम्यन्ति दुःखिताः ।
 तथापि दयितानां प्रेमदयिते न स्वजनवर्गे ॥
 कौमुदीमित्रानन्द.

Mitrāṇanda :—(To himself) Women are prominent among the heroic blinded by love. They hold their life as a blade of grass.

Kaumudī :— They may go to foreign lands, suffer misery and wander unhappily but they are true to their lovers, not to their own family.

Satyaharis'candra :—This drama consists of six acts. The author has also introduced some changes here in the original from the *Mahābhārata*. The incident of the dream in which Haris'candra gives up his whole kingdom to Vis'vāmītra as a gift is changed here into a melodramatic episode in which the king is made to undergo all sorts of indignities to wash away the sin of killing a pregnant deer. The poet feels almost inspired when he comes to describe the exile of Haris'candra from his capital along with Tārāmī, his wife and Rohidāsa, his son. The pathetic is handled by Rāmacandra in a manner which reminds one of Bhavabhūti. He has taken by the forelock the opportunity to demonstrate here his own theory of the drama viz. the drama reflects both the joys and sorrows of life. That is why he describes in great detail and with considerable sympathy all the misfortunes that the unhappy king has to undergo.

As a specimen of the impassioned dialogue which Rāmacandra has put in the mouths of Vis'vāmītra and Haris'candra, here are a few lines :

Haris'candra :—Revered sir, do please wait for just one month. I will, by that time, certainly give you your fold.

Kulapati :—How do you intend to give it after a month ?
Are you going to beg for it ?

Haris'candra :—The Ikṣvākus are instructed, my lord, only in granting gifts to others ! They do not know how to accept others' gifts.

Kulapati :—How then will you do it ?

Haris'candra :—I shall sell myself but I will pay you²¹.

Rāmacandra has some more dramas to his credit. But they are not available. Among the dramatists of Gujarata, Rāmacandra stands out pre-eminently. He has made a thorough study of the science of dramaturgy (viz. Nāṭyasāstra). He commands a fine style illuminated by wit and force. He knows how to turn an unassuming simple epic tale into an excellent dramatic piece. He has praised the Vaidarbhī Riti²² and recommended it to poets. It would not be an exaggeration to place Rāmacandra in the first rank of

21

राजा—(समयं विमृश्य) भगवन् मासमेकं सहस्य ।

यावत्कुतोऽपि कनकमुपनयामि ।

कुलपतिः ... मासानन्तरं दास्यसि किं भक्षयित्वा ।

राजा ... इक्ष्वाकवो भिक्षां दातुं शिक्षिता न पुनर्भूहीतुम् ।

कुलपतिः ... कुतस्तर्हि ।

राजा ... आत्मानं विक्रीय दास्यामि ।

सत्य हरिश्चन्द्रः

22

वैदर्भी रीतिमहं लभेय ... न. विकास

समग्रयुगा वैदर्भी. ...

dramatists. He has everywhere shown considerable originality in thought and expression, and has condemned plagiarism in literature in severe terms²³. Besides, he was a first-rate critic, a sympathetic appreciator of poetry and a ready composer of limericks (samasyās).

On account of references to Rāmacandra as “*Prabandhas’atakartā*”, many learned scholars think that he was the author of a hundred works. The number of known titles against his name has so far reached forty, including eleven dramas, *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*, *Dravyālaṅkāravṛtti*, *Jiṇa-stotras* etc. But Muni Puṇyavijaya, in the short preface to *Kaumudīmītrānandana* observes that “In some ancient manuscripts we come across a reference saying, “*Rāmacandra-kṛtāni prabandhas’ataka dvādaś’arūpakānātakādīśvarūpajñāpakam*” which means that the Prabandhas’ata was a work which dealt exhaustively with the twelve kinds of drama. Some scholars think that there were probably 5000 verses dealing with the Rūpaka alone. That means that the analysis of that form of drama must have been perfect in this work and must have established the reputation of the author as a master of dramaturgy. Were this work to be unearthed from oblivion, it will indeed be a valuable gain. This book may have been written after *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* and *Nalavilāsa* and certainly before *Kaumudīmītrānanda* and *Nirbhayakimavyāyoga*. The *Bombay Gazetteer* supports this inference.²⁵

Besides the natives of Gujarata, there were some poets, who, hailing from other parts of the country, came and settled in Gujarat. Among these the name of Bilhaṇa stands out eminent. He hailed from Khonamukha (now Khumo) in Kashmere. After finishing his studies, he travelled far and wide and at last came to king Karṇa Solaṅki of Anahilapatan. It was at this king’s court that he wrote his drama *Karṇasundarī*, the daughter of the Vidyādhara. The king first sees her in a dream and later in a portrait. As usual, the queen puts many obstacles in the way of their union. At last the queen presents a boy dressed as Karṇasundarī to marry the king. The minister of the king, however,

- 23 विद्वानपि तथा शस्यः परकाव्यैः कविर्भवन् । जिनस्तोत्र.
 परोपनीतशब्दार्थाः स्वनामा कृतकीर्तयः ।
 निबद्धारोऽधुना तेन को नो क्लेशमवेक्ष्यति ॥ नाट्यदर्पणविवृति.
 परोपनीत शब्दार्थाः स्वनाम्नाकृत कीर्तयः ।
 निबद्धारोऽधुना तेन विश्रम्भस्तोषु कः सताम् ॥

कौमुदीमित्रानन्द-प्रस्तावना.

- 24 श्रीमदाचार्यहेमचन्द्रशिष्यस्य प्रबन्धशतकर्तुर्महाकवे राम-
 चन्द्रस्य भूयांसः प्रबन्धाः । कौमुदी मित्रानन्द-प्रस्तावनायाम्.

- 25 Though Kumārpāla was not a learned man, his ministers were men of learning and he continued the practice of keeping at his court scholars especially Sanskrit poets. Two of his leading Pandits were Rāmacandra and Udayacandra-both of them Jains. Ramacandra is often mentioned in Gujarāṭi literature and appears to have been a great scholar. He was the author of a book called “A Hundred Accounts” or “Prabhandhashata”.

The Bombay Gazetteer, History of Gujrat; Vol. I, Part I, P. 190.

cleverly arranges to bring the real Karnaṣundarī at the place of marriage. The marriage becomes a *fait accompli* and thus the drama ends happily.

It is stated that this drama was written to celebrate the marriage ceremony of Karṇa and Mīṇalla Dēvī, the daughter of king Karnāṭa. This Mīṇalla Dēvī became the mother of king Siddharāja. Hemcandra, in his poem *Dvyāś'raya* states that the king first saw the portrait of Mīṇalla Dēvī and fell in love with her. The drama Karnaṣundarī also depicts the same plot. It may have been composed between circa 1080 to 1090 A. D. This was therefore the first drama of Gujarat.

Then we come to *Mudrītakumudacandraprakaraṇa* of Yaśaḥpāla. At the court of Siddharāja, a heated debate took place between Kumudacandra of the Digambara Jain sect in V. S. 1181 (1237 A. D.). The subject of the debate was, "whether the womankind and the Śvetāmbara Jains can attain to salvation or not? Devasūri asserted that women deserve to get and do get salvation because they are quite sinless and we get examples of Sītā and other names in the epics. Among the contemporaries, even 'Mīṇalla Dēvī's name is mentioned. The debate continued for no less than sixteen days, at the end of which Kumudacandra was completely defeated. As a last resort, Kumudacandra pointed out a grammatical fault in Devacandra's argument, taking objection to the expression "*Koṭakoti*". But the judges declared the form to be quite correct according to Pāṇini's system. This drama is important for the study of social and religious atmosphere in Gujarat. It throws light on the king's love of learning and justice, the bitter jealousies between the diverse religious sects and the love of discussion and debate. The king himself acted as the Chief Justice in the debate, assisted by Maharsī, Utsaha, Sagara, and Rāma, the four Paṇḍits of the court. The learned and the distinguished court is very graphically described in the drama. The author has also written another drama viz. "Rājamati-prabodha", dealing with the famous story of Nemināth Rajamati. From the prologue of this drama, we learn that the author had also written more dramas and two epics which are lost.

There were many other dramas written at the time in Gujarat, such as Devacandra's *Candralakkhāvijayaprakaraṇa*, Yaśaḥpāla's *Mohaḥparājita*, Prahlādadeva's *Pārthapadākramavyāyoga*, Vijayapāla's *Draupadisvayamvara*, Rāmabhadra's *Prabuddharohiṇya*, Balacandra's *Karuṇavajrāyudha*, Someśvara's *Ullāsarāghava*, and Subhata's *Dūtāṅgada*.

26

तेषामाहृतानां द्वौ सम्प्रदायौ दिगम्बरश्चेतान्बरभेदात् । तत्र
प्रथमः केवलिनः परमात्मभावं गतस्य भोगं स्त्री शरीरे मोक्षं
च नानुमन्यते । द्वितीयस्तु तदनुमन्ता, दिगम्बराणां कर्म-
प्रभावेण स्त्रीदेहं लब्ध्वैव मोक्षप्राप्तिः ।

मुक्ते न केवली न स्त्री मोक्षमेति दिगम्बरः ।

प्रादुरेषामयं भेदो महान् श्वेतान्बरैः सह ॥

सर्वदर्शनसंग्रहः । आहृतदर्शनं.

We learn from a reference in the prologue of *Karṇasundarī* that Subhaṭa's *Dūtāṅgada* was performed on the stage. *Karṇasundarī* was staged in connection with a fair, while *Dūtāṅgada* was staged at the reception of Kumārapāla at the time of S'ivamūrtidolotsava. From the *Mahārāṣṭrīya Jñānaśa*, we find that Subhaṭa styled himself as a *Mahākavi* and *padavākya-pramāṇajña* as Bhavabhūti. The date of the performance is given as March 7th 1243 by Gray.²⁷

From this brief sketch, it will appear that Gujarat held its own in the field of drama, nearly a thousand years ago. On festive or religious occasions, as a rule, dramas were performed in temples with some kind of scenic display and considerable attention was paid to acting. Out of the known 26 dramas in which Gujarat has contributed to the six hundred dramas in Sanskrit in general, twenty-three belong to the century between 1150 and 1250 A. D. Of these dramas, Rāmacandra composed as many as eleven. He wrote, in four varieties, viz. Nāṭaka, Prakaraṇa, Nāṭikā and Vyāyoga. Three dramas were written by two other pupils of Hemacandra viz. Devacandra and Yaśas'candra and the rest by the writers of the succeeding two generations. Hemacandra and Rāmacandra made great efforts to plant the tree of drama in Gujarat.²⁸

27 महाराष्ट्रीयज्ञानकोश, Vol. 16, P. 125.

28 I am highly indebted to Prof. G. N. Dike for having gone through the manuscript and made important suggestions.

MIA. MISCELLANY

By Prof. H. C. Bhayani

1. The *Paūmacariu* and the *Bhavisattakaha*

In the domain of Apabhramśa literature Svayambhū's achievements were great enough to exercise considerable influence over the subsequent literary efforts in Apabhramśa. Especially for the epic poets coming after Svayambhū, it was not quite easy to compose with a mind freed completely from the impressions of Svayambhū's voluminous epics, the *Paūmacariu* and the *Ritthanemicariu*. Thus the beginning of the *Bhavisattakaha* of Dhaṇavāla (probably 10th cent. A. D. Ed. JACOBI, 1918, DALAL-GUNE, 1923) appears clearly to be modelled after the beginning of Svayambhū's *Paūmacariu* as can be established from the following verbal correspondences collected from the relevant portions of these two works.

*Paūmacariu**

- 1 पणवैप्पिणु I I 2
- 2 संसारसमुद्गत्तारहों I I 2
- 3 दुज्जयकंदप्पदप्पहरहों I I 3
- 4 परमेद्धि I I I
- 5 भविआयणसउणकप्पतरहों I I 9
- 6 तइलोकमहारिसिकुलहरहों I I 17
- 7 इय चउवीस वि परम जिण । पणवैप्पिणु भावें ॥
पुणु अप्पाणउ पायडमि । रामायण-कोवें ॥

I I 20

Bhavisattakaha

- 1 पणविप्पिणु I I 3
- 2 संसारसमुद्गत्तरणसेउ I I 7
- 3 कन्दप्पदप्पदलणेक्कमल्लु I I 6
- 4 परमिद्धि I I 10
- 5 भव्वयणवयणपंकयपर्यणु I I 4
- 6 पवरमहासिरिकुलहरहों I I 11
- 7 सो हियइ धरेवि । परममहासिरिकुलहरहों ॥
वित्थारमि लोइ । कित्तणु भविसणराहिवहों ॥

I I 12

* In the case of the *Paūmacariu* the references are to the edition that is being prepared by me on the basis of the two available Mss.; but one can conveniently refer to the text of the first two Sandhis published from one Ms. by M. C. MODI in *BV* (Hindi-Gujarati) I, 3, Aug. 1940, pp. 257-268. In the case of the *Bhavisattakaha*, the references are to DALAL-GUNES' edition.

*Paṇḍitarī**Bhavisattakaha*

- 8 गिम्मलपुण्णपवित्तकहं I 2 12a 8 गिम्मल पुण्ण पवित्त कह I 4 9
 9 पवित्तकहकित्तणु I 2 12a 9 कित्तणु भविसणराहिवहो I 1 12
 10 बुहयण I 3 I 10 बुहयण I 2 2
 11 इहु सज्जणलोयहो किउ विणउ I 3 12a 11 इहु सज्जणलोयहो विणउ सिट्ठु I 3
 12 अवहत्थेवि खलयणु I 4 I 12 अच्छउ खलयणु I 4 I
 13 गणहरदेवहिं दिट्ठु I 2 6 13 गणहरिण दिट्ठु I 4 2
 14 थिउ विउलमहीहरे वद्धमाणु I 7 5 14 विउलइरि परिट्ठिउ वद्धमाणु I 4 6
 15 समसरणु वि जसु जोयणपमाणु I 7 6 15 जसु समवसरणु जोयणपमाणु I 4 6 I
 16 जहिं पक्ककलमि I 4 2 16 परिपक्ककलमि I 5 3
 17 The story commences with the description of मगधदेश, most of the lines beginning with जहिं, I 4 17 The story commences with the description of कुरुजाङ्गलदेश, most of the lines beginning with जहिं, I 5
 18 पुणु पंथिय रससल्लिइं पियंति I 4 8 18 पुंडुच्छुरसइं लीलइं पियंति I 5 10
 19 तहिं पट्ठणु गामे राय-। गिहु धनकणयसमिद्धउ ॥ 19 तहिं गयउरु णाउं । पट्ठणु जणजणियच्छरिउ ॥
 गं पुहइएँ etc. I 4 9 गं गमणु etc. I 5 11-12
 20 गं सग्गखण्डु अवयरेवि थिउ 9 13 6 20 गं गयणु मुएवि । सग्गखण्डु महि अवयरिउ ॥
 I 5 12
 21 गं पुहइएँ णवजोव्वणएँ । सिरि सेहरु आइद्धउ ॥ 21 जं पुहइहि मंडणु गं पसत्थु I 6 I
 I 4 9
 22 The patterns of PC I 14 4-8 and Bh. I 10 9-13 are quite similar.
 23 जक्खकहमेणु I 14 8 23 जक्खकहमथवक्कु I 10 13
 24 णउ सामणु णरु 9 5 5 24 सावन्तु एहु णउ दीसइ 2 3 5
 एहु कोवि सामन्तु न दीसइ 2 14 2
 25 आलावेण वि संसउ I 14 4 25 आलावणि संसउ 2 4 6
 26 उप्पाइय भंतिउ I 10 I 26 उप्पाइय केण वि भंति 2 7 10
 27 णीसइउ हूयउ किक्किणीउ 27 सोहइ रणझणन्तु किक्किणिरु ॥
 x x , x x x x घवघवन्तु घघरयमहारउ 9 4 3
 घघरयहिं घवघव-घोसु चत्तु 13 I 6-7

These correspondences are sufficiently striking to warrant the conclusion that at the time of composing the first few *Kaḍavakas* of his *Bhavisattakaha* Dhapaṇvāla had before him the beginning portion of Svayambhū's *Paṇḍitarī*.

2. Some readings of the *Karpūramāñjarī**.

(1) चहुट्टदि vs. वहुट्टदि.

The text of the first line of the fourth stanza, Act II as constituted by Ghosh is

चित्ते वहुट्टदि, ण खुट्टदि सा गुणेसु ।

For P.'s वहुट्टदि, W. (the oldest and best Ms. of the work, according to the editor) reads चहुट्टदि. Failing to understand properly this चहुट्टदि (cf. *Karpūramāñjarī*, Notes, p. 81 *ca hutṭadi*), the editor accepts वहुट्टदि though it is nothing but a ghost word, ingeniously derives it from Sk. *अवष्टुति and the result is the fantastic sense 'she rubs herself to my heart. She does not fall short of or diminish (even after rubbing herself)'. In the case of the mediaeval Sanskrit and Prakrit works, while interpreting their uncommon expressions and usages, it is always profitable to take help of the local dialects.

चहुट्टदि is commonly known to Pk. (*Pāiasaddamahāṇavo*, s. v.), Ap. (Alsdorf's *Kumārāpālāpratibodha*, Glossar, s. v.) and some of the NIA. vernaculars (e. g. Guj. चोंटवुँ). Moreover, Gujarātī currently uses the exactly corresponding idiom "चित्तमाँ चोंटवुँ" lit. 'to stick in the heart' i. e. 'to be never removed from the heart', 'to be remembered constantly'. Accordingly the line from the *Karpūramāñjarī* means: 'She sticks to my heart. She has no shortage of excellences'.

Similarly Lanman's interpretation of this line (HOS IV, p. 244) as 'If I paint a picture, she flashes forth upon it' is incorrect. Confusion between व and च is quite common in the Mss. This explains P.'s reading. Cf. *Kumārāpālāpratibodha* (GOS. XIV), p. 424, l. 2, and M. D. Desai's '*Jain Gurjar Kāvīo*' (in Gujarati), I p. 44, l. 8¹ (in a quotation from a com. on the Ap. poem संयममञ्जरी) where we find this very blunder of reading वहुट्टदि and °वहुट्टदि for चहुट्टदि and °चहुट्टदि respectively. (To be continued)

* Edited by Manomohan Ghosh, University of Calcutta, 1939.

1 Here practically the same expression is used: जहि पवर-चहुट्टदिँ मन-च(च)हुट्टदि.
'Where there were excellent squares attractive to the mind'.

Shri K. M. Munshi Diamond Jubilee* Celebration

On the 7th January 1947, within the premises of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chowpatty, the political, literary, social, legal and other services rendered and attained by Shri Kanhayalal Maneklal Munshi were publicly recognised and hailed on the occasion of the celebration of his sixtieth birthday under the auspices of the 'Munshi Heerak Jayanti Mahotsava Samiti' presided over by Seth Devakaran Nanjee. That we Indians are rapidly coming into our own and that we are on our way to a new and higher intellectual level was clearly demonstrated that day by the fact that it was not the West that discovered our Munshi for us but that we discovered him ourselves and recognised him.

It was a gathering of great magnitude. All sorts of peoples had come together to pay their homage to the man-frail and short—who has devoted his colourful life to the development and interpretation of Indian Culture.

The main speakers who graced this glorious occasion were :

i) Shri Devakaran Nanjee, ii) Mr. M. I. Rowji, iii) Sir Chimanlal Setalwad, iv) Shri S. K. Patil, v) Shri Jyotindra Dave, vi) Shri Vartak, vii) Sir H. V. Divatia, viii) Diwan Bahadur K. M. Jhaveri, ix) Prof. Ramnarain V. Pathak, x) Shri Dahyabhai Patel, and xi) Mr. Talyarkhan.

The function opened with the reading of messages from Shri Aurobindo Ghosh and other leading personages, friends and admirers. Prof. Dave read the Sanskrit poems composed by him in honour of Shri Munshiji's sixtieth birthday. The Mayor Mohamedbhai Rowji paid a glowing tribute to Shri Munshiji as a pleader and a politician. Sgt. S. K. Patil gave a graphic description as to how Shri Munshiji was firmly wedded to the Congress and hence to the cause of the nation; and also how he modestly went to the Congress Office in 1930 only to request that he be allowed to serve the Congress. Diwan Bahadur K. M. Jhaveri stated that he knew from the beginning that Shri Munshiji was going to be a great man. He was glad that his foresight had not failed him. Sir Chimanlal Setalwad could not help going into a reminiscent mood and presented before the audience pleasing pictures of Shri Munshiji as a first-rate lawyer, a renowned politician, a growing literary force, and an ardent educationist. The personal touches were tender and touching. The Hon'ble Mr. Vartak spoke eloquently of Shri Munshiji's high character which was responsible for his present position. Prof. Ramnarain V. Pathak in his strangely sweet voice reminded the audience of the unique services that Shri Munshiji had rendered in the cause of Gujarati literature, art and culture. Mr. Talyarkhan of the Progressive group highlighted the social and cultural activities of Shri Munshiji.

The Millionaire Devakaran Nanjee, after garlanding Shri Munshiji, offered him a purse of rupees one lakh on behalf of the Munshi Heerak Mahotsava Samiti, which amount Shri Munshiji graciously donated to the Saraswati Mandir of the Bhavan which is soon to be built. A commemoration volume also was presented to him. The brilliant reply given by Shri Munshiji appears in the beginning.

Seth Devakaran Nanjee's Speech

Shri Munshiji's penetrating intellect, his activities in the spheres of social upliftment, education, law, literature, politics and many others, and also the impetus he gave to the movement of the development of Indian Culture are facts so well-known that it is hardly necessary to mention them.

Paying tribute to a life of sacrifices that Shri Munshiji gladly underwent in the cause of the nation the president reminded the audience that Shri Munshiji had been one of our leading congressmen since 1930. Since 1941 he has been an irrepressible interpreter, a staunch supporter, and a conscious propagandist of Akhand Hindusthan for which the Congress has been struggling for the last sixty years.

As literary artist Shri Munshiji is the Sun of a system. Although he is very much alive to the modern social and cultural problems staring us in the face he has devoted his literary talents mainly to serve our glorious past from being pushed into unfathomable depths of oblivion. 'He has re-created for us the various ages of Indian History....Not only this. With the help of his creative art he has made our brilliant past a live force.'

In the field of history Shri Munshiji's contribution is very solid. It is he who has, for the first time—through his book 'Imperial Gurjars'—brought to light the history of the Pratihāra Kings of Northern India whose capital was Kanauj and who had successfully fought back the Arabs and the Turks.'

Besides these Shri Munshiji is responsible for so many social and cultural institutions doing splendid work.

He has made known the fundamentals of Indian culture by 'strongly supporting Akhanda Hindusthan, accepting Hindi as the national language of India, insisting again and again on re-building our social life on the basis of the fundamental values of our culture and showing how effective integration of an individual's various energies is possible.'

By sheer dint of personal courage and hard and honest work Shri Munshiji has come to be what he is. 'He is a genius.' Even a cursory glance at his career would show that he could not help being one! 'I, on behalf of all of you, extend heartfelt welcome to Munshiji on his stepping into the 60th year of his life. He has our best wishes.'

Santoshkumar Mehta

तत्कदर्थपरिरक्षितं धनं

चौरपार्थिवगृहे प्रयुज्यते ॥ २६ ॥

४७६ न देवेभ्यो न विप्रेभ्यो बन्धुभ्यो नैव चात्मने ॥

कदर्थस्य धनं याति त्वन्नितस्करराजसु ॥ २७ ॥

४७७ अतिक्लेशेन येऽप्यर्था धर्मस्यातिक्रमेण च ॥

अरेर्वा प्रणिपातेन मा भवेयुः कदाचन ॥ २८ ॥

गरुड, पूर्वखंड, आचारकांड, अ. १०९.

शौनकीयनीतिसार

४७८ अर्थातुराणां न सुहृन् बन्धुः

कामातुराणां न भयं न लज्जा ॥

चिन्तातुराणां न सुखं न निद्रा

क्षुधातुराणां न बलं न तेजः ॥ ६७ ॥

४७९ कुतो निद्रा दरिद्रस्य परप्रेष्यवरस्य च ॥

परनारीप्रसक्तस्य परद्रव्यहरस्य च ॥ ६८ ॥

४८० सुखं स्वपितृनृणवान्स्याधिमुक्तश्च यो नरः ॥

सावकाशस्तु वै भुङ्क्ते यस्तु दारैर्न सङ्गतः ॥ ६९ ॥

(न शङ्कितः इ. पा.)

४८१ सुखभङ्गः स्वरो दीनो गात्रस्वेदो महद्भयम् ॥

मरणे यानि चिह्नानि तानि चिह्नानि याचके ॥ ७० ॥

४८२ कुलस्य कीटघातस्य वातान्निष्कासितस्य च ॥

शिखरे वसतस्तस्य वरं जन्म न याचितम् ॥ ७१ ॥

४८३ जगत्पतिर्हि याचिन्वा विष्णुर्वामनतां गतः ॥

कोऽम्बोऽधिकतरस्तस्य योऽर्थी याति न लाघवम् ॥ ७२ ॥

Ibid, अ. ११५.

४८४ प्रायेणार्थाः कदर्याणां न सुखाय कदाचन ॥

इह चात्मोपतापाय मृतस्य नरकाय च ॥ १५ ॥

भागवत. ११. अ. २३.

VI Destiny-Action (दैव-कर्म)

४८५ शीतं हुताशादपि दैवयोगात्सञ्जायते चन्द्रमसोऽपि तापः ॥

परिग्रहात्सौख्यसमुद्भवोऽत्र भूतोऽभवद्भावि(वी?) न मर्त्यलोके ॥ ५७ ॥

४८६ कष्टं घने निवसतोऽत्र सदा नरस्य

नो केवलं निजतनुप्रभवं भवेच्च ॥

दैवं च पित्र्यमखिलं न जिभाति कृत्यं

तस्माद्गृहे निवसतात्महितं प्रचिन्त्यम् ॥ ५४ ॥

स्कांद, नागरखंड, अ. १४७.

४८७ [बलेन प्रज्ञया नित्यं मन्त्रपौरुषविक्रमैः ॥

सहायैश्चैव मित्रैश्च नालभ्यं कृभते नरः ॥ १२५ ॥]

४८८ कामाकाशे सुखे दुःखे विवाहे मृत्युजीवने ॥

भोगे रोगे विधोगे च दैवमेव हि कारणम् ॥ १२६ ॥

४८९ [कुरुपाः कुरुला मूर्खाः कुत्सिताचारलिम्बिताः ॥

शौर्यविक्रमहीनाश्च देवाद्वाज्यानि भुञ्जते ॥ १२७ ॥]

पद्म. उत्तरखंड, अ. १२८.

४९० जीवितं मरणं जन्तोर्गतिः स्वेनैव कर्मणा ॥ २५ ॥

भागवत. १२. अ. ६.

४९१ वनं परित्यज्य कुशानुभीत्या

जलं प्रविष्टो नलिनीसुखार्थम् ॥

सन्दृष्ट्वा तत्र हिमानलेन

यद्यस्य कर्म न तदन्यथा स्यात् ॥ ५५ ॥

४९२ वेदादिशास्त्रमखिलं प्रपठन्तु लोकाः

कुर्वन्तु नाम सततं क्षितिपालसेवाम् ॥

उग्रं तपः प्रतिदिनं प्रतिसाधयन्तु

न श्रीस्तथापि च भजत्यतिभाग्यहीनम् ॥ ५६ ॥

४९३ मस्तकोपरि तिष्ठन्ति दुःखानि च सुखानि च ॥

अन्तकाले समायाति हठादन्यानि सप्तम ॥ ५७ ॥

पद्म. क्रियाखंड, अ. ५.

४९४ स्वमेव कर्म दैवाख्यं विद्धि देहान्तरार्जितम् ॥

तस्मात्पौरुषमेवेह श्रेष्ठमाहुर्मनीषिणः ॥ १ ॥

४९५ प्रतिकूलं तथा दैवं पौरुषेण विहन्यते ॥

सारिवकारकर्मणः पूर्वात्सिद्धिः स्यात्पौरुषं विना ॥ २ ॥

४९६ पौरुषं दैवसम्पत्त्या काले फलति भार्गव ॥

दैवं पुरुषकारश्च द्वयं पुंसः फलावहम् ॥ ३ ॥

अग्नि. अ. २२६.

४९७ [न पुत्रवांधवा दारा न समस्तः सुहृज्जनः ॥

संकटेऽभ्युपगच्छन्ति ब्रजंतमेकगामिनम् ॥ ९४ ॥]

४९८ यदेव कर्म कैवल्यं कृतं तेन शुभाशुभम् ॥

तदेव सार्थवत्तस्य भवत्यग्रे तु गच्छतः ॥ ९५ ॥

स्कांद. आवन्त्यखंड, रेवाखंड, अ. २८.

४९९ आपत्काले नृणां नूनं मरणं नैव लभ्यते ॥ ११७ ॥

स्कांद. ब्रह्मखंड, चतुर्मासखंड, अ. ५.

५०० दैवं पुरुषकारश्च कालश्च पुरुषोत्तम ॥

त्रयमेतन्मनुष्यश्च पिण्डितं स्यात्फलावहम् ॥ ८ ॥

५०१ नालसाः प्राप्नुवन्त्यर्थास्तु च दैवपरायणाः ॥

[तस्मात्सर्वप्रयत्नेन आचरेद्धर्ममुत्तमम् ॥ ११ ॥]

५०२ स्यात्कालसान्देवपरात्ममुष्या-

उत्थानं कालपुरुषादि लक्ष्मीः ॥

अन्विष्य यत्ना सुखावुपयन्

तस्मात्सदोत्थानवत्ता हि भाव्यम् ॥ १२ ॥

मत्स्य. अ. २२१.

- ५०३ भविष्यं ब्रह्मचर्येव शक्तिं तस्य निवर्तकः ॥
प्रारब्धाधीनमेवात्र प्रारब्धः स शिवः स्मृतः ॥ ९ ॥
शिव. कोटिरुग्रसंहिता. अ. २१.
- ५०४ विपरीतो यदा कालः पुरुषस्य भवेत्सदा ॥
भूतमैत्रीं प्रकुर्वन्ति सर्वकार्यार्थसिद्धये ॥ ३४ ॥
स्कांद. माहेश्वरखंड. केदारखंड. अ. ९.
- ५०५ दैवं हि दुरतिक्रमम् ॥ ७ ॥
पद्म. सर्गखंड. अ. २२.
- ५०६ नूनं विवित्रो भुवि भूतवर्गः सम्भूतभावो बहुधा विवित्रः ॥
तथा विवित्रोऽखिलकर्मयोगस्तत्कर्मशक्तिप्रचयो विवित्रः ॥ ३१ ॥
पद्म. पातालखंड. अ. १०२.
- ५०७ स्वकर्मणोऽनुरूपं हि फलं भुञ्जन्ति जंतवः ॥
शुभेन कर्मणा भूतिर्दुःखं स्यात्पातकेन तु ॥ ३१ ॥
- ५०८ इश्यन्ते चाऽभिशापाश्च पूर्वकर्मानुसंधिताः ॥
कष्टाः कष्टतरावस्था गताः केचिदनागसः ॥ ३५ ॥
- ५०९ हीमन्तो नयसंयुक्ता अन्ये बहुगुणैर्युताः ॥
दुर्गममापदं प्राप्य निजकर्मसमुद्भवम् ॥ ३८ ॥ (न संज्वरन्ति) ॥
स्कांद. आवन्त्यखंड. रेवाखंड. अ. १९८.
- ५१० विपाककटु यत्कर्म तन्न शंसन्ति पंडिताः ॥ ४४ ॥
विष्णु. पंचमांश. अ. ३०.
- ५११ अहोऽतिबलवद्दैवं विना तेन महात्मना ॥
यदसामर्थ्ययुक्तेऽपि नीचवर्गे जयप्रदम् ॥ ३१ ॥
- ५१२ तौ बाहू स च मे मुष्टिः स्थानं तत्सोऽस्मि चार्जुन ॥
पुण्येनैव विना तेन गतं सर्वमसारताम् ॥ ३२ ॥
विष्णु. पंचमांश. अ. ३८.
- ५१३ यथा मृत्पिण्डतः कर्ता कुरुते यद्यदिच्छति ॥
तथा पूर्वकृतं कर्म कर्तारमनुगच्छति ॥ ४२ ॥
- ५१४ यथा कृतं तथा भुङ्क्ते नित्यं विहितमात्मना ॥
आत्मना विहितं दुःखमात्मना विहितं सुखम् ॥ ४४ ॥
- ५१५ वित्तेन प्रज्ञया वाऽपि समर्थाः कर्तुमन्यथा ॥
शुक्लान् पशुञ्जन्ति दुःखानि च सुखानि च ॥
हेतुं प्राप्य नरो नित्यं कर्मपापौश्च बध्यते ॥ ४६ ॥
- ५१६ यथा भेजुसहस्रेषु बत्सो बिन्दति मातरम् ॥
तथा शुभाशुभं कर्म कर्तारमनुगच्छति ॥ ४७ ॥
- ५१७ उपभोगादृते तस्य नाश एव न विद्यते ॥
प्राक्तनं बन्धनं कर्म कोऽन्यथा कर्तुमर्हति ॥ ४८ ॥
- ५१८ शीघ्रमपि भावन्तं विधानमनुधावति ॥
[शेते सह शयानेन पुरा कर्म यथाकृतम् ॥ ४९ ॥
- ५१९ उपतिष्ठति तिष्ठन्तं गच्छन्तमनुगच्छति ॥
करोति कुर्वन् कर्म ज्ञायेवानुविधीयते] ॥ ५० ॥

- ५२० यथा छायातपौ नित्यं संबन्धौ च परस्परम् ॥
तद्वत्कर्म च कर्ता च सुसंबन्धौ परस्परम् ॥ ५१ ॥
५२१ येन यत्रोपभोक्तव्यं सुखं वा दुःखमेव वा ॥
स तत्र बद्धा बन्धेन बलाद्देवेन नीयते ॥ ५३ ॥
५२२ अरक्षितं भवेत्सत्यं दैवं तमेव रक्षति ॥
दैवेन नाशितं यत्तु तस्य रक्षा न दृश्यते ॥ ५६ ॥

पद्म. भूमिखंड. अ. ८१.

- ५२३ एवं लोकं परं विद्याज्ञश्चरं कर्मनिर्मितम् ॥
स तुल्यातिशयध्वंसं यथा मण्डलवर्तिनाम् ॥ २० ॥

भागवत, ११. अ. ३.

- ५२४ यादृक्नरं च सेवेत तादृशं फलमश्नुते ॥
महत्तस्तेवयोद्धत्वं क्षुद्रस्य क्षुद्रतां तथा ॥ २२ ॥
५२५ सिंहस्य मंदिरे सेवा मुक्ताफलकरी मता ॥
शृगालमंदिरे सेवा त्वस्थिलाभकरी मता ॥ २३ ॥

स्कांद. माहेश्वरखंड. केदारखंड. अ. ९.

- ५२६ दैवाधीने शरीरेऽस्मिन्गुणभाष्येन कर्मणा ॥
वर्तमानोऽबुधस्तत्र कर्तास्तीति निबध्यते ॥ १० ॥

Ibid. ११ अ. ११.

- ५२७ विपर्ययो वा किं न स्याद्भक्तिर्धातुर्दुरत्यया ॥
उपस्थितो निवर्तेत निवृत्तः पुनरापतेत् ॥ ५० ॥

Ibid. १०. अ. १.

- ५२८ दैवाधीनेषु कामेषु दैवाधीनः स्वयं पुमान् ॥ २३ ॥

Ibid. ३. अ. ३.

हस्पतिनीतिसार

- ५२९ अनर्था ह्यर्थरूपाश्च अर्थाश्चानर्थरूपिणः ॥
भवन्ति ते विनाशाय दैवायत्तस्य वै सदा ॥ २३ ॥
५३० कार्यकालोपिताऽपापा मतिः सञ्जायते हि वै ॥
सानुकूले तु दैवे शं पुंसः सर्वत्र जायते ॥ २४ ॥

गरुड. op. cit., अ. ११०.

- ५३१ एते ते चन्द्रतुल्याः क्षितिपतितनया भित्तोऽपि न विनाशाय ॥
शूराः सत्यप्रतिष्ठा दिनकरवपुषः केशवेनोपगूढाः ॥
ते वै दुष्टग्रहस्थाः कृपणवशगता भैक्ष्यचर्या प्रयाताः
को वा कस्मिन्समर्थो भवति विधिवशाद्ग्रामवेत्कर्मेरेका ॥ १४ ॥
५३२ ब्रह्मा येन कुलालवस्त्रियमितो ब्रह्माण्डभाण्डोदरे
विष्णुर्येन दशावतारगहने क्षिप्तो महासङ्कटे ॥
रुद्रो येन कपालपाणिपुटके भिक्षाटनं कारितः
सूर्यो भ्राम्यति नित्यमेव गगने तस्मै नमः कर्मणे ॥ १५ ॥
५३३ दाता बलिर्याचको वै मुरारि-
र्दानं मही विप्रमुखस्य मध्ये ॥

- दत्त्वा फलं बन्धनमेव लब्धं
नमोऽस्तु ते दैव यथेष्टकारिणे ॥ १६ ॥
- ५३४ येन येन यथा यद्वत्पुरा कर्म सुनिश्चितम् ॥
तत्तदेवान्तरा भुङ्क्ते स्वयमाहितमात्मना ॥ १८ ॥
- ५३५ आत्मना विहितं दुःखमात्मना विहितं सुखम् ॥
गर्भशय्यामुपादाय भुङ्क्ते वै पौर्वदैहिकम् ॥ १९ ॥
- ५३६ न चान्तरिक्षे न समुद्रमध्ये
न पर्वतानां विवरप्रवेशे ॥
न मातृमूर्ध्नि प्रधृतस्तथाङ्गे
त्यक्तुं क्षमः कर्म कृतं नरो हि ॥ २० ॥
- ५३७ दुर्गन्धिकूटः परिखा समुद्रो
रक्षांसि योधाः परमा च वृत्तिः ॥
शास्त्रं च वै तूशनसा प्रदिष्टं
स रावणः कालवशाद्विनष्टः ॥ २१ ॥
- ५३८ यस्मिन्वयसि यत्काले यद्दिवा यच्च वा निशि ॥
यन्मुहूर्ते क्षणे वापि तत्तथा न तदन्यथा ॥ २२ ॥
- ५३९ गच्छन्ति चान्तरिक्षे वा प्रविशन्ति महीतले ॥
धारयन्ति दिशः सर्वा नादत्तमुपलभ्यते ॥ २३ ॥
- ५४० पुराधीता च या विद्या पुरा दत्तञ्च यद्धनम् ॥
पुरा कृतानि कर्माणि ह्यग्रे धावन्ति धावतः ॥ २४ ॥
- ५४१ कर्मण्यत्र प्रधानानि सम्यगृक्षे शुभग्रहे ॥
वसिष्ठकृतलम्नाऽपि जानकी दुःखभाजनम् ॥ २५ ॥
- ५४२ स्थूलजघ्ने बदा रामः शब्दगामी च लक्ष्मणः ॥
घनकेशी यदा सीता त्रयस्ते दुःखभाजनम् ॥ २६ ॥
- ५४३ न पितुः कर्मणा पुत्रः पिता वा पुत्रकर्मणा ॥
स्वयं कृतेन गच्छन्ति स्वयं बद्धाः स्वकर्मणा ॥ २७ ॥
- ५४४ कर्मजन्यशरीरेषु रोगाः शारीरमानसाः ॥
शरा इव पतन्तीह विमुक्ता दृढधन्विभिः ॥ २८ ॥
- ५४५ अन्यथा शास्त्रगर्भिण्या धिया धीरोऽर्थमीहते ॥
स्वामिवत्प्राक्कृतं कर्म विदधाति तदन्यथा ॥ २९ ॥
- ५४६ बालो युवा च वृद्धश्च यः करोति शुभाशुभम् ॥
तस्यां तस्यामवस्थायां भुङ्क्ते जन्मनि जन्मनि ॥ ३० ॥
- ५४७ अनीक्षमाणोऽपि नरो विदेशस्थोऽपि मानवः ॥
स्वकर्मपोतवातेन नीयते यत्र तत्फलम् ॥ ३१ ॥
- ५४८ प्राप्तव्यमर्थं लभते मनुष्यो
देवोऽपि तं वारयितुं न शक्तः ॥
अतो न शोचामि न विस्मयो मे
ललाटलेखा न पुनः प्रयाति ॥ ३२ ॥
- ५४९ सर्पः कूपे गजः स्कन्धे बिल आशुश्च धावति ॥
नरः शीघ्रतरादेव कर्मणः कः पलायते ॥ ३३ ॥

- ५५० न मञ्जवलवीर्येण प्रज्ञया पौरुषेण च ॥
अलभ्यं लभ्यते मल्लैस्तत्र का परिदेवना ॥ ४४ ॥
- ५५१ अव्यक्तादीनि भूतानि व्यक्तमध्यानि शौनक ॥
अव्यक्तनिधनान्येष का तत्र परिदेवना ॥ ४८ ॥
- ५५२ नाप्राप्तकालो ज्ञियते विद्वः शरशतैरपि ॥
कुशाग्रेण तु संस्पृष्टः प्राप्तकालो न जीवति ॥ ४९ ॥
- ५५३ लब्धव्यान्येव लभते गन्तव्यान्येव गच्छति ॥
प्राप्तव्यान्येव प्राप्नोति दुःखानि च सुखानि च ॥ ५० ॥
- ५५४ तत्तत्प्राप्नोति पुरुषः किं प्रलापैः करिष्यति ॥
आचोद्यमानानि यथा पुष्पाणि च फलानि च ॥
स्वकालं नातिवर्त्तन्ते यथा कर्म पुराकृतम् ॥ ५१ ॥
- ५५५ शीलं कुलं नैव न चैव विद्या
ज्ञानं गुणा नैव च बीजशुद्धिः ॥
भाग्यानि पूर्व तपसार्जितानि

काले फलन्त्यस्य यथैव वृक्षाः ॥ ५२ ॥

- ५५६ तत्र मृत्युर्यत्र हन्ता तत्र श्रीर्यत्र सम्पदः ॥
तत्र तत्र स्वयं याति प्रेर्यमाणः स्वकर्मभिः ॥ ५३ ॥
- ५५७ भूतपूर्वं कृतं कर्म कर्त्तारमनुतिष्ठति ॥
यथा धेनुसहस्रेषु वत्सो विन्दति मातरम् ॥ ५४ ॥
- ५५८ एवं पूर्वकृतं कर्म कर्त्तारमनुतिष्ठति ॥
सुकृतं भुङ्क्ते चात्मीयं सूड किं परितप्यसे ॥ ५५ ॥
- ५५९ यथा पूर्वकृतं कर्म शुभं वा यदि वाऽशुभम् ॥
तथा जन्मान्तरे तद्वै कर्त्तारमनुगच्छति ॥ ५६ ॥

गरुड. op. cit., अ. ११३.

VII. Happiness-Sorrow (सुख-दुःख)

- ५६० श्रीबालवृद्धातुरराजयोगिनां
विषामितोयाद्रिनिपातनादिना ॥
दुःखस्य चैवोद्धरणं प्रशस्यते
कूपस्य खातेन समं वदन्ति ॥ २५ ॥

पद्म. पातालखंड. अ. १०६.

- ५६१ आलस्यं प्रथमं पश्चाद्दयाधिपीडा प्रजायते ॥
प्रमादः संशयस्थाने चित्तस्येहानवस्थितिः ॥ १ ॥
- ५६२ अश्रद्धादर्शनं भ्रांतिर्दुःखं च त्रिविधं ततः ॥
दौर्मेनस्वमयोगेषु विषयेषु च योगता ॥ २ ॥

लिङ्ग. पूर्वभाग. अ. ९.

- ५६३ यद्यत्प्रीतिकरं पुंसां वस्तु मैत्रेय जायते ॥
तदेव दुःखवृक्षस्य बीजत्वमुपगच्छति ॥ ५५ ॥
- ५६४ इति संसारदुःखार्कतापत्तापितचेतसाम् ॥
बिमुक्तपादपञ्चबाभ्रुते कुत्र सुखं नृणाम् ॥ ५७ ॥

विष्णु. पद्मोक्त. अ. ६.

- ५६५ इष्टा परस्व भाग्यानि आत्मनो व्यसनं तथा ।
तत्र मन्थुर्न कर्तव्य एवं धर्मः सनातनः ॥ ४१ ॥
वराह. अ. १२७.
- ५६६ सुखेन दान्तः स्वपिति सुखं च प्रतिबुध्यते ॥
समः सर्वेषु भूतेषु मनो यस्य ग्रहयति ॥ ३२१ ॥
- ५६७ न रथेन सुखं याति न ह्येन न दन्तिना ॥
यथात्मना विनीतेन सुखं याति महापथम् ॥ ३२२ ॥
पद्म. सृष्टिखंड. अ. १९.
- ५६८ स्मरन्दीर्घमनुद्धासं शर्म किं नाम विन्दते ॥
गर्भवाससमं दुःखं न भूतं न भविष्यति ॥ १० ॥
भागवत. तृतीयस्कंध. अ. ३१.
- ५६९ गर्भवासो हि दुःखाय न सुखाय कदाचन ॥ ५ ॥
स्कांद. आर्षल्यखंड. रेवाखंड. अ. १४७.
- ५७० सर्पः परकृतं वेदम प्रविश्य सुखमेधते ॥
उषित्वा तत्र सौख्येन भूयोऽन्यत्तादृशं व्रजेत् ॥ २५ ॥
स्कांद. नागरखंड. अ. १८५.
- ५७१ गृहारंभो हि दुःखाय विफलश्चाधुवात्मनः ॥
सर्पः परकृतं वेदम प्रविश्य सुखमेधते ॥ १५ ॥
भागवत. ११ स्कंध. अ. ९.
- ५७२ न देहिनां सुखं किञ्चिद्विद्यते विदुषामपि ॥
तथा च दुःखं मूढानां वृथाऽहङ्करणं परम् ॥ १८ ॥
Ibid. ११. अ. १०.
- ५७३ सुखदुःखप्रदो नान्यः पुरुषस्यात्मविभ्रमः ॥ ३० ॥
Ibid. ११. अ. २३.
- Due to māyā :
- ५७४ सुखाय दुःखप्रभवेषु सज्जते ॥
गृहेषु योषिपुरुषश्च वञ्चितः ॥ ४७ ॥
Ibid. १०. अ. ५१.
- ५७५ असम्पुष्टोऽसकृल्लोकानामोत्पत्तिं सुरेश्वरः ॥
अकिञ्चनोऽपि संतुष्टः शेते सर्वाङ्गविज्वरः ॥ ३२ ॥
Ibid. १०. अ. ५२.
- ५७६ यथा दारुमयी योषिभृत्यते कुहकेच्छया ॥
एवमीश्वरतन्त्रोऽयमीहते सुखदुःखयोः ॥ १२ ॥
Ibid. १०. अ. ५४.
- ५७७ असंतोषः परं दुःखं संतोषः परमं सुखम् ॥
सुखार्थी पुरुषस्तस्मात्संतुष्टः सततं भवेत् ॥ २६१ ॥
पद्म. सृष्टिखंड. अ. १९.
- ५७८ आत्मवत्स्य मांसानि भोक्तुं ब्रह्मज्ञ शक्यते ॥
देहिनां यद् यद्योग्यं संष्टिर्जायते यतः ॥ ५ ॥
पद्म. क्रियाखंड. अ. २१.

- ५७९ दुःखे न तप्येत सुखे न हृष्येत्समेन वर्त्तत सदैव धीरः ॥
दिष्टं बलीय इति मन्यमानो न संज्वरेन्नापि हृष्येत्कदापि ॥ ८ ॥
मत्स्य. अ. १७.

बृहस्पतिनीतिसार

- ५८० रागद्वेषादियुक्तानां न सुखं कुत्रचिद्विज ॥
विचार्य खलु पश्यामि तत्सुखं यत्र निर्वृतिः ॥ ५८ ॥
५८१ यत्र स्नेहो भयं तत्र स्नेहो दुःखस्य भाजनम् ॥
स्नेहमूलानि दुःखानि तस्मिंस्त्यक्ते महत्सुखम् ॥ ५९ ॥
५८२ शरीरमेवायतनं दुःखस्य च सुखस्य च ॥
जीवितञ्च शरीरञ्च जात्यैव सह जायते ॥ ६० ॥
५८३ सर्वं परवशं दुःखं सर्वमात्मवशं सुखम् ॥
एतद्विद्यात्समासेन लक्षणं सुखदुःखयोः ॥ ६१ ॥
५८४ सुखस्यानन्तरं दुःखं दुःखस्यानन्तरं सुखम् ॥
सुखं दुःखं मनुष्याणां चक्रवत्परिवर्त्तते ॥ ६२ ॥
५८५ यत्नतः तदतिक्रान्तं यदि स्यात्तच्च दूरतः ॥
वर्त्तमानेन वर्त्तत न स शोकेन बाध्यते ॥ ६३ ॥
गरुड. op. cit. अ. ११३.
५८६ अप्रार्थितानि दुःखानि यथैवायान्ति यान्ति च ॥
मार्जार इव लुप्येत तथा प्रार्थयिता नरः ॥ ५२ ॥
Ibid. अ. ११४.

शौनकीयनीतिसार

- ५८७ अस्थिरं जीवितं लोके अस्थिरं धनयोजनाम् ॥
अस्थिरं पुत्रदाराद्यं धर्मः कीर्तिर्यशः स्थिरम् ॥ २६ ॥
५८८ शतं जीवितमत्यल्पं रात्रिस्तस्यार्धहारिणी ॥
व्याधिशोकजस्रयासैरर्द्धं तदपि निष्फलम् ॥ २७ ॥
५८९ आयुर्वर्षशतं नृणां परिमितं रात्रौ तदुद्धं गतं ॥
तस्यार्द्धस्थितकिञ्चिदुद्धमधिकं बाल्यस्य काले गतम् ॥
किञ्चिद्वन्धुवियोगदुःखमरणैर्भूपालसेवागतं ॥
शेषं वारितरङ्गगर्भचपलं मानेन किं मालिनाम् ॥ २८ ॥
५९० लवणजलान्ता नद्यः स्त्रीभेदान्तं च मैथुनम् ॥
पैशुन्यं जनवार्तान्तं वित्तं दुःखत्रयान्तकम् ॥ ५८ ॥
५९१ अहोरात्रमयो लोके जरारूपेण संचरेत् ॥
मृत्युर्गमसति भूतानि पवनं पद्मगो यथा ॥ २९ ॥
५९२ वाचा विहितसार्थेन लोको न च सुखायते ॥
जीवितं मानमूढं हि माने म्लाने कुतः सुखम् ॥ ३० ॥
Ibid. अ. ११५.

VIII. Samsāra (संसार)

- ५९३ अधिष्ठानं समिच्छन्ति ह्यचलं निर्बले सति ॥
संसारे सर्वभूतानां तृणविम्बुवदस्थिरे ॥ ३ ॥

- ५९३ कदलीसारलिःसारे मृगतृष्णेव चंचले ॥
स्नावरे जंगमे सर्वे भूतग्रामे चतुर्विधे ॥ ५ ॥
स्कांद. आर्वल्यखंड. रेवाखंड. अ. १३३.
- ५९५ पुत्रमित्रकलत्रार्थे राज्यभोगधनाय च ॥
भागमे निर्गमे प्राज्ञो न विषादं समाचरेत् ॥ ४७ ॥
वामन. अ. ७७.
- ५९६ गृहपुत्रः हृत्पितरो हि विनश्चराः ॥
द्रव्यादिकं च सुभगे तेषु सजेत नो बुधः ॥ १८ ॥
पद्म. उत्तरखंड. अ. २१६.
- ५९७ वायुर्यथा घनानीकं तृणं तूलं रजांसि च ॥
संयोज्याक्षिपते भूयस्तथा भूतानि भस्मकृत् ॥
भागवत. १०. अ. ८२.
- ५९८ वक्ष्यन्ति गूढमत्यर्थं सुप्तं मत्तं प्रमादतः ॥
गंधः सर्वत्र सततमाघ्रातव्यः प्रयत्नतः ॥ ३६९ ॥
- ५९९ गावः पश्यन्ति गंधेन राजानश्चारचक्षुषा ॥
नैकसिद्धेद्वेने घोरे धर्ममेकं च चिन्तयेत् ॥ ३७० ॥
- ६०० न चोद्वेगस्त्वया कार्यः सर्वस्य मरणं ध्रुवम् ॥
यथा हि पथिकः कश्चिच्छायामाश्रित्य तिष्ठति ॥ ३७१ ॥
- ६०१ विश्रम्य च पुनर्याति तद्वद्भूतसमागमः ॥
पुत्रानित्यं जगत्सर्वं तत्रैकः शोचसे कथम् ॥ ३७२ ॥
पद्म. सृष्टिखंड. अ. १८.
- ६०२ क्वचित्संभूय गच्छन्ति पुनरन्यत्र वानर ॥
यथा हि पाथं गच्छन्तं पथि कश्चित्पथि स्थितः ॥ ४९ ॥
स्कांद. ब्रह्मखंड. सेतुमा. अ. ४५.
- ६०३ इदानीमपि संसारे कुहरो दृश्यते नरैः ॥ ३३ ॥
भागवत. ३. अ. ११.
- ६०४ जलं तदुद्भवैश्छन्नं हित्वाऽज्ञो जलकाम्यया ॥
मृगतृष्णामुपाधावेद्यथाऽन्यत्रार्थदृक् स्वतः ॥ २८ ॥
Ibid. ७. अ. १३.
- ६०५ यस्मिन्निदं प्रोतमशेषमोतं
पटो यथा तन्निवितानसंस्थः ॥
य एष संसारतरुः पुराणः
कर्मात्मकः पुष्पफले प्रसूते ॥ २१ ॥
Ibid. ११. अ. १२.
- ६०६ वेणुसंवर्धजो वह्निर्दग्ध्वा शाम्यति तद्वनम् ॥
एवं गुणव्यत्ययजो देहः शाम्यति तत्क्रियः ॥ ७ ॥
Ibid. अ. १३.
- ६०७ गङ्गातोयेन सम्पूर्णः कुम्भ एव प्रदृश्यते ॥
सुराया विन्दुना लिप्तो मद्यकुम्भः प्रजायते ॥ ९ ॥

- ६०८ पापस्य पापसंसर्गात्कुलं पापि प्रजायते ॥
आरनालस्य वै बिन्दुः क्षीरमाश्वे प्रयाति चेत् ॥ १० ॥
- ६०९ पञ्चाक्षाक्षयते क्षीरमात्मरूपं प्रकाशयेत् ॥
तद्भद्रिनाशयेद्द्वेषं पापः पुत्रो न संशयः ॥ ११ ॥
पद्म. भूमिखंड. अ. २४.
- ६१० अपुत्रस्य गृहं शून्यं दिशः शून्या द्वावाधवाः ॥
मुखस्य हृदयं शून्यं सर्वशून्यं दरिद्रता ॥ १२८ ॥
- ६११ मृषाऽयं वदते लोकश्रंदनं किं शीतलम् ॥
त्रगात्रपरिष्वंगश्रंदनादपि शीतलः ॥ १२९ ॥
- ६१२ इमश्चग्रहणक्रीडंतं धूलिधूसरिताननम् ॥
पुण्यहीना न पश्यन्ति निजोत्संगसमास्थितम् ॥ १३० ॥
- ६१३ द्विगंबरं गतव्रीडं जटिलं धूलिधूसरम् ॥
पुण्यहीना न पश्यन्ति गंगाधरमिवात्मजम् ॥ १३१ ॥
- ६१४ वीणावाद्यस्वरो लोके सुस्वरः श्रूयते किं ॥
रुदितं बालकस्यैव तस्मादाह्लादकारकम् ॥ १३२ ॥
- ६१५ मृगपक्षिषु काकेषु पशूनां स्वरयोनिषु ॥
पुत्रं तेषु समस्तेषु बल्लभं ब्रुवते बुधाः ॥ १३३ ॥
स्कांद. आवन्त्यखंड. रेवाखंड. अ. १०३.
- ६१६ जाते पुत्रोत्तमे वंशः श्रेष्ठः स्यादधमोऽपि च ॥
पुत्रेऽधमे तु श्रेष्ठोऽपि वंशो गच्छति हीनताम् ॥ १४ ॥
पद्म. क्रियाखंड. अ. १९.
- ६१७ पुत्रे समर्थे यो मूढः पुरुषः स्त्रीजनोऽथ वा ॥
न विरज्येत यो मूढो वञ्चितः श्रेयसा हि सः ॥ २५ ॥
पद्म. उत्तरखंड. अ. २१६.
- ६१८ सर्वार्थसंभवो देहो जनितः पोषितो यतः ॥
न तयोर्वाति निर्वेशं पित्रोर्मर्त्यः क्षतायुषा ॥ ५ ॥
- ६१९ यस्तयोरारम्भजः कल्प आत्मना च धनेन च ॥
वृत्तिं न दद्यात् तं प्रेत्य स्वर्मांसं खाद्वनक्ति हि ॥ ६ ॥
भागवत. १९. अ. ४५.
- ६२० परोऽप्यपत्यं हितकृद्यथौषधं
स्वदेहजोऽप्यामयवत् सुतोऽद्वितः ॥ ३७ ॥
Ibid. ७. अ. ५.
- ६२१ अश्रेयथा दारुवियोगयोगबोरदृष्टोऽभ्यक्त निमित्तमस्ति ॥
एवं हि जन्तोरपि दुर्विभाग्यः क्षरीरसंयोगवियोगहेतुः ॥ ५१ ॥
Ibid. १०. अ. १.
- हृत्पतिनीतिसार
- ६२२ तथा गवा किं क्रियते या न दोग्ध्री न गर्भिणी ॥
कोऽर्थः पुत्रेण जातेन यो न विद्वाञ्च धार्मिकः ॥ ५५ ॥
- ६२३ एकेनापि सुपुत्रेण विद्यायुक्तेन धीमता ॥
कुलं पुरुषसिंहेन चन्द्रेण गगनं यथा ॥ ५६ ॥

- ६२४ एकेनापि सुवृक्षेण पुष्पितेन सुगन्धिना ॥
वनं सुवासितं सर्वं सुपुत्रेण कुलं यथा ॥ ५७ ॥
- ६२५ एको हि गुणवान्पुत्रो निर्गुणेन शतेन किम् ॥
अन्धो हंति तमांस्येको न च ज्योतिस्सहस्रकम् ॥ ५८ ॥
- ६२६ लालयेत्पञ्चवर्षाणि दशवर्षाणि ताडयेत् ॥
प्राप्ते तु षोडशे वर्षे पुत्रं मित्रवदाचरेत् ॥ ५९ ॥
- ६२७ जायमानो हरेद्वारान्वर्द्धमानो हरेद्धनम् ॥
त्रियमाणो हरेत्प्राणान्नास्ति पुत्रसमो रिपुः ॥ ६० ॥
- ६२८ ज्येष्ठः पितृसमो भ्राता मृते पितरि शौनक ॥
सर्वेषां स पिता हि स्यात्सर्वेषामनुपालकः ॥ ६१ ॥
- ६२९ कनिष्ठेषु च सर्वेषु समत्वेनानुवर्तते ॥
समोपभोगजीवेशु यथैव तनयेषु च ॥ ६२ ॥

Ibid. अ. ११४.

शौनकीयनीतिसार

- ६३० लालने बहवो दोषास्ताडने बहवो गुणाः ॥
तस्माच्छिष्यं च पुत्रं च ताडयेन्न तु लालयेत् ॥ ९ ॥

Ibid. अ. ११५.

- ६३१ भ्रातरीशकृतः पाशो नृणां यः खेदसंज्ञितः ॥
तं दुस्त्यजमहं मन्ये शूराणामपि योगिनाम् ॥ ६१ ॥
- ६३२ मा राज्यधीरभूत्पुंसः श्रेयस्कामस्य मानद ॥
स्वजनानुत बन्धून्वा न पश्यति ययान्धदम् ॥ ६२ ॥

भागवत. १०. अ. ८४.

- ६३३ पुत्रो मित्रं तथा भ्राता अन्ये स्वजनबांधवाः ॥
पञ्चभेदास्तु सम्बन्धाः पुरुषस्य भवन्ति ते ॥ २९ ॥

पद्म. पातालखंड. अ. ८९.

IX. Six Enemies (षड्रिपु)

- ६३४ आत्मदोषैर्नियच्छन्ति सर्वे दुःखसुखे जनाः ॥
मन्ये दुःखरितं तर्हिस्तस्येयं निष्कृतिः कृता ॥ ३० ॥

मत्स्य. अ. १७.

Desire (काम)

- ६३५ काम एव महाशत्रुस्तमेकं निर्जयेद्दुष्टम् ॥
चित्तकामा महात्मानस्तैर्जितं निखिलं जगत् ॥ २१ ॥

स्कांद. नागरखंड. अ. २३८.

- ६३६ उप्यमानं बहुक्षेत्रं स्वयं निर्धार्यतामियात् ॥
न कल्पते पुनः सूत्या उल्लंघीजं च नश्यति ॥ ३३ ॥
- ६३७ एवं कामाक्षयं चित्तं कामानामतिसेवया ॥
विरज्येत यथा राज्ञस्तद्विषयकामविन्दुभिः ॥ ३४ ॥

भागवत. ७. अ. ११.

Anger (क्रोध)

- ६३८ यः परेषां नरो नित्यमतिवादांस्तितिक्षति ॥
देवयानि विजानीहि तेन सर्वमिदं जितम् ॥ १ ॥
- ६३९ यः समुत्पतितं क्रोधं निगृह्णाति हयं यथा ॥
स बन्धेत्युच्यते सद्भिर्न यो रश्मिषु लम्बते ॥ २ ॥
- ६४० यः समुत्पतितं क्रोधमक्रोधेन मियच्छति ॥
देवयानि विजानीहि तेन सर्वमिदं जितम् ॥ ३ ॥
- ६४१ यः समुत्पतितं क्रोधं क्षमयैव निरस्यति ॥
ययोरगस्त्वचं जीर्णां स वै पुरुष उच्यते ॥ ४ ॥

मत्स्य. अ. २८.

- ६४२ मूढानामेव भवति क्रोधो ज्ञानवतां कुतः ॥
हृष्यते तात कः केन यतः स्वकृतभुक्पुमान् ॥ १७ ॥

स्कान्द. काशीखंड. अ. ४६.

- ६४३ वैरे महति यद्वाक्याद्गुरोराश्रिता क्षमा ॥ २४ ॥

विष्णु. प्रथमांश. अ. १.

- ६४४ अकार्यं क्रियते मूढैः प्रायः क्रोधसमीरितैः ॥ ३ ॥
- ६४५ क्रोधेन नश्यते कीर्तिः क्रोधो हन्ति स्थिरां श्रियम् ॥
विपरीतार्थबुद्धीनां सुलभो विपदोदयः ॥ ४ ॥

मत्स्य. अ. १५८.

- ६४६ अक्रोधनः क्रोधनेभ्यो विशिष्टः
तथा तितिक्षुरतितिक्षोर्विशिष्टः ॥
अमानुषेभ्यो मानुषश्च प्रधानो
विद्वांसैर्वाविदुषः प्रधानः ॥ ६ ॥
- ६४७ आक्रोश्यमानो नाक्रोशेन्मन्युमेव तितिक्षति ॥
आक्रोष्टारं निर्दहति सुकृतं चास्य विन्दति ॥ ७ ॥
- ६४८ आरुन्नुदस्यान्न नृशंसवादी
न हीनतः परमभ्याददीत ॥
अवाप्त्य वाचा पर उद्विजेत
न तां वदेद्गुह्यं पापलौक्याम् ॥ ८ ॥
- ६४९ अरुन्नुदं पुरुषं तीव्रवाचं
वाक्कंटकैर्वितुदन्तं मनुष्यम् ॥
विन्ध्यादलक्षीकृतमं जनानां
मुखे निबद्धं निर्भर्ति वहन्तम् ॥ ९ ॥
- ६५० सद्भिः पुरस्तादभिपूजितः स्या-
त्सद्भिस्तथा पृष्ठतो रक्षितः स्यात् ॥
सदा सतामातवादर्हतिक्षेत्र
सतां वृत्तं पाकयन्साधुवृत्तः ॥ १० ॥
- ६५१ वाक्सायका वदनाक्षिप्यतन्नि
वैराहतः शोचति राभ्यहानि ॥

परस्य नो मर्मसु ते पतन्ति

तान्पण्डितो नावसृजेत्परेषु ॥ ११ ॥

१५२ नास्तीदृशं संवननं त्रिषु लोकेषु किञ्चन ॥

यथा मैत्री च लोकेषु दानं च मधुरा च वाक् ॥ १२ ॥

१५३ तस्मात्सान्त्वं सदा वाच्यं न वाच्यं परुषं क्वचित् ॥

पूज्यान्सपूजयेद्दद्यान्नाभिशापं कदाचन ॥ १३ ॥

मत्स्य. अ. ३६.

Desire (लोभ-आशा)

१५४ सूची सूत्रं तथा वस्त्रे समानयति सूचिका ॥

तद्वत्संसारसूत्रस्य तृष्णासूची विधीयते ॥ २९ ॥

१५५ यथा शृङ्गं हरोः काये वर्द्धमाने हि वर्द्धते ॥

अनंतपारा दुर्वारा तृष्णा दुःखप्रदा सदा ॥

अधर्मबहुला चैव तस्मात्तां परिवर्जयेत् ॥ ३० ॥

१५६ संतुष्टः को न शक्नोति फलैश्चापि हि वर्त्तितुम् ॥

सर्वोऽपीन्द्रियलोभेन संकटान्यभिगाहते ॥ ३१ ॥

१५७ सर्वत्र संपदस्तस्य संतुष्टं यस्य मानसम् ॥

उपानिद्विपादस्य ननु चमद्भुतेव भूः ॥ ३२ ॥

१५८ संतोषामृततृप्तानां यत्सुखं शांतचेतसाम् ॥

कुतस्तद्वनलुब्धानां सुखं चाशांतचेतसाम् ॥ ३३ ॥

स्कांद. प्रभासखं. प्र. क्षे. मा. अ. २५५.

१५९ आशा हि परमं दुःखं नैराश्रयं परमं सुखम् ॥

यथा सम्बिद्ध कान्ताशां सुखं सुष्वाप पिङ्गला ॥ ३३ ॥

भागवत. ११. स्कंध. अ. ८.

१६० न तथा तप्यते विद्वः पुमान्बाणैः सुमर्मगैः ॥

यथा तुदन्ति मर्मस्था ह्यसतां परुषेष्वः ॥ ३ ॥

भागवत. ११ स्कंध. अ. २३.

१६१ असंतोषः परं पापमित्याह भगवान्हरिः ॥

लोभः पापस्य बीजोऽयं मोहो मूलं च तस्य वै ॥

असत्यं तस्य हि स्कन्धो महाशाखा सुविस्तरात् ॥ ५४ ॥

१६२ मदकौटिल्यपत्राणि कुबुद्ध्या पुष्पितः सदा ॥

अनृतं तस्य सौगन्धमज्ञानं फलमेव च ॥ ५५ ॥

१६३ कुब्धं पाषाणचौराश्च क्रूराः कूटाश्च पापिनः ॥

पक्षिणो मोहवृक्षस्य महाशाखासमाभिताः ॥ ५६ ॥

१६४ अज्ञानं सुफलं तस्य रसो धर्मं फलस्य हि ॥

माषोदकेन समृद्धिस्तस्य श्रद्धा क्रतुप्रिया ॥ ५७ ॥

१६५ अधर्मेषु रसस्तस्य उत्कृष्टैर्मधुरायते ॥

तादृशैश्च फलैश्चैव स फलो लोभपादपः ॥ ५८ ॥

१६६ तस्य छायां समाश्रित्य यो नरः परिवर्तते ॥

फलानि तस्य सोऽश्नाति स्वपक्वानि दिने दिने ॥ ५९ ॥

- ६६७ फलानां च रसेनापि अधर्मेण तु पोषितः ॥
स सम्पुष्टो भवेन्मर्त्यः पतनाय प्रयच्छति ॥ ६० ॥
- ६६८ यो हि विद्वान्न चेत्कान्तमूर्खाणां पथमेव हि ॥
श्रुषा चिन्तयते नित्यं दिवारात्रौ विमोहितः ॥ ६२ ॥
पद्म. पातालखंड, अ. ८७.
- ६६९ लोभो हि धनहीनानां जनानां ज्ञानसाहरेत् ॥
शुचिकाले दिनाधीशः कुल्यानामिव जीवनम् ॥ ६० ॥
पद्म. उत्तरखंड, अ. २१४.
- ६७० विवेकस्त्रिषु लोकेषु सम्पदां परमं पदम् ॥
अविवेको हि लोकानामापदां परमं पदम् ॥ ७७ ॥
पद्म. क्रियाखंड, अ. ५.

Pingalā being ās'ā-virahitā always slept happily:

- ६७१ आशापाशैः परीताङ्गा ये भवन्ति नरोऽर्विताः ॥
ते रात्रौ शेरते नैव तदप्राप्तिविचिन्तया ॥ ६८ ॥
- ६७२ नैवाग्निर्दीप्यते तेषां जाठरश्च ततः परम् ॥
आहारं वाञ्छते नैव तन्न तेजोऽभिवर्धनम् ॥ ६९ ॥
- ६७३ सर्वस्य विद्यते प्रांतो न वाञ्छायाः कथंचन ॥ ७० ॥
- ६७४ पूर्वं ज्ञात्वा महाभागाः पुरुषेण विजानता ॥
दिवा तत्कर्म कर्तव्यं येन रात्रौ सुखं स्वयेत् ॥ ७३ ॥
स्कंद. नागरखंड, अ. १८४.
- ६७५ प्रमादात्सर्वभूतानि विनश्यन्ति न संशयः ॥
न च लोभेन कर्तव्यं विषमस्थं तृणं क्वचित् ॥ ७१ ॥
- ६७६ तस्माल्लोभं न कुर्वीत न प्रमादं न विश्वसेत् ॥
आत्मा हि सततं पुत्र रक्षितव्यः प्रयत्नतः ॥ ७२ ॥
पद्म. छट्खंड, अ. १८.
- ६७७ मनोरथानां न समाप्तिरस्ति
वर्षायुतेनाप्यथवापि लक्ष्यैः ॥
पूर्णेषु पूर्णेषु पुनर्नवाना-
मुत्पत्तयः संति मनोरथानाम् ॥ २१६ ॥
विष्णु. चतुर्थांश, अ. १.
- ६७८ देहोऽपि ममताभाक्चेत्तर्ह्यसौ नात्मवत्प्रियः ॥
यज्जीर्यत्यपि देहेऽस्मिन्निविताशा बलीयसी ॥ ५३ ॥
- ६७९ तस्मात्प्रियतमः स्वात्मा सर्वेषामपि देहिनाम् ॥
तदर्थमेव सकलं जगदेतच्छराचरम् ॥ ५४ ॥
भागवत, १०. अ. १४.
- ६८० वैरागुबन्ध एतावानामृत्योरिह देहिनाम् ॥
अज्ञानप्रभवो मन्युरहंमानोपदृष्टिः ॥ १३ ॥
Ibid. ७. अ. १८.
- ६८१ सप्तद्वीपाधिपतयो नृपा वैश्यराजादयः ॥
अर्थकामैर्गता भान्तं तृष्णाया इति नः श्रुतम् ॥ २३ ॥

- ६८२ यदृच्छायाऽप्येतो सन्तुष्टो वर्तते सुखम् ॥
 नासन्तुष्टस्त्रिभिर्लोकैरजितात्मोपसादितैः ॥ २४ ॥
- ६८३ पुंसोऽयं संसृतेर्हेतुरसन्तोषोऽर्थकामयोः ॥
 यदृच्छयोपपन्नेन सन्तोषो मुक्तये स्मृतः ॥ २५ ॥
- ६८४ यदृच्छालाभनुष्टस्य तेजो विप्रस्य वर्धते ॥
 तत्प्रशाम्यत्यसन्तोषादम्भसेवाशुशुक्षणिः ॥ २६ ॥
- ६८५ [सत्यं पुष्पफलं विद्यादात्मवृक्षस्य गीयते ॥
 वृक्षेऽजीवति तन्न स्यादनृतं मूलमात्मनः ॥ ३९ ॥
- ६८६ तद्यथा वृक्ष उन्मूलः शुष्यत्युद्धर्ततेऽचिरात् ॥
 एवं नष्टानृतः सद्य आत्मा शुष्येन्न संशयः ॥ ४० ॥]

भागवत. ८. अ. १९.

Glamour (मोह)

- ६८७ मोहः सदाऽविवेकश्च वर्जनीयः प्रयत्नतः ॥
 तेन त्यक्तो नरो ज्ञानी न ज्ञानी मोहसंश्रयात् ॥ २५ ॥
 स्कांद. नागरखंड. अ. २३८.
- ६८८ अर्थसंपद्विमोहाय बहुशोकाय चैव हि ॥
 तस्मादर्थमनर्थक्यं श्रेयोऽर्थी दूरतस्त्यजेत् ॥ २६ ॥
- ६८९ बल्य धर्मार्थमप्यर्थास्तस्यापि न हि दृश्यते ॥
 प्रक्षालनाद्धि पंकस्य दूरादस्पर्शनं वरम् ॥ २७ ॥
 स्कांद. प्रभासखंड. अ. क्षेत्र. मा. अ. २५९.

Pride (मद)

- ६९० मद एव मनुष्याणां शरीरस्थो महारिपुः ॥
 सदा स एव निग्राह्यः सुप्ते दैवे विशेषतः ॥ २६ ॥
 स्कांद. नागरखंड. अ. २३८.
- ६९१ दुर्विनीतः श्रियं प्राप्य विद्यामैश्वर्यमेव च ॥
 न तिष्ठति चिरं कालं यथाहंमदगर्वितः ॥ १८ ॥
 Ibid. अ. २४९.
- ६९२ विद्यामदो धनमदस्तृतीयोऽभिजनोद्भवः ॥
 एते मदावल्लिप्तानामेत एव सतां दमाः ॥ १४ ॥
 स्कांद. नागरखंड. अ. ३७.
- २९३ अल्पं दर्पबलं दैत्य स्थिरमक्रोधजं बलम् ॥
 हतस्त्वं दर्पजैर्दोषैर्हित्वा यो भाषसे क्षमाम् ॥ २६८ ॥
 पद्म. सृष्टिखंड. अ. ४३.
- ६९४ कामदर्पाविशीलानामविचारितकारिणाम् ॥
 आयुषा सह नश्यन्ति सम्पदो मूढचेतसाम् ॥ २९ ॥
 पद्म. पातालखंड. अ. २९.
- ६९५ ऐश्वर्यं च मदश्चैव कामश्चैव महीतले ॥
 जगत् इते विवेकस्य तेजो हन्ति किमद्भुतम् ॥ २२ ॥
 पद्म. क्रियाखंड. अ. ५.

Balarāma says:

- ६९६ अहो मदावलेपोऽयमसाराणां दुरात्मनाम् ॥
[कौरवाणां महीपत्वमस्माकं किल कालजम् ॥ २३ ॥]
विष्णु. पंचमांश. अ. ३५.

बृहस्पतिनीतिसार

- ६९७ न तृप्तिरस्ति शिष्टानामिष्टानां प्रियवादिनाम् ॥
सुखानाञ्च सुतानाञ्च जीवितस्य वरस्य च ॥ ४१ ॥
६९८ राजा न तृप्तो धनसञ्चयेन
न सागरस्तृप्तिमगाज्जलेन ॥
न पण्डितस्तृप्यति भाषितेन
तृप्तं न चक्षुर्नृपदर्शनेन ॥ ४२ ॥

गरुड. op. cit., अ. १०९.

Jealousy (मत्सर)

- ६९९ ते तु मात्सर्यदोषेण नष्टाचाराः पतन्त्यधः ॥
मात्सर्यं सर्वनाशाय मात्सर्यं सर्वनाशकम् ॥ ३५ ॥
वराह. अ. १४८.

X. Learning-Studentship (विद्या-विद्यार्थी)

बृहस्पतिनीतिसार

- ७०० हविर्दुष्टकुलाद्वाह्यं बालादपि सुभाषितम् ॥
अमेध्यात्काञ्चनं ग्राह्यं स्त्रीरत्नं दुष्कुलादपि ॥ ७ ॥
गरुड. op. cit., अ. ११०.
७०१ केवलं पाठमात्रेण यश्च संतुष्यते नरः ॥
तथा पण्डितमानी च कोऽन्यस्तस्मात्पशुर्मतः ॥ ८७ ॥
७०२ न छन्दांसि वृजिनात्तारयन्ति
मायाविनं माययाऽऽवर्तमानम् ॥
नीडं शकुन्ता इव जातपक्षा-
श्छन्दांस्येनं प्रजहत्यंतकाले ॥ ८८ ॥
७०३ स्वर्गाय बद्धकक्षो यः पाठमात्रेण ब्राह्मणः ॥
स बालो मातुरंकस्थो ग्रहीतुं सोममिच्छति ॥ ८९ ॥ ❀
७०४ [शब्दजातमशेषं तु धत्ते शर्वस्य वल्लभा ॥
अर्थरूपं यदखिलं धत्ते मुग्धेन्दुशेखरः ॥]
इति वायुपुराणवचनमिति मल्लिनाथः स्वटीकायां कथयति (खुवंश. १. १.)
७०५ सभागतानां यः सभ्यः पक्षपातं समाश्रयेत् ॥
तमाहुः कुक्कुटं देवास्तस्याप्यन्नं विगर्हितम् ॥ ८८ ॥
वामन. अ. १४.
७०६ अपारे काव्यसंसारे कविरेव प्रजापतिः ॥
यथा वै रोचते विश्वं तथेदं परिवर्तते ॥ १० ॥

अग्नि.

- ७०७ न सर्भां प्रविशोत्प्राज्ञः सभ्यदोषाननुस्मरन् ॥
अमुवन्विमुवन्नृशो नरः किल्बिषमभुते ॥ १० ॥

भागवत. १०. अ. ४४.

- ७०८ [ईशो दुरत्ययः काल इति सत्यवती श्रुतिः ॥
वृद्धानामपि यहुद्विर्बालवाक्यैर्विभिद्यते ॥ ३१ ॥
७०९ सदसस्पतीनतिक्रम्य गोपालः कुलपांसनः ॥
यथा काकः पुरोडाशं सपर्या कथमर्हति ॥ ३४ ॥]

Ibid. १०. अ. ७४.

हृस्पतिनीतिसार

- ७१० पठने भोजने चित्तं न कुर्याच्छास्त्रसेवकः ॥
सुदूरमपि विद्यार्थी ब्रजेद्रुडवेगवान् ॥ ४९ ॥
७११ ये बालभावे न पठन्ति विद्यां
कामापुरा यौवननष्टवित्ताः (चित्ताः इ. पा.) ॥
ते वृद्धभावे परिभूयमानाः
संदह्यमानाः शिशिरे यथाब्जम् ॥ ५० ॥ cf. also v's. 47-48.
गरुड. op. cit., अ. १०९.

- ७१२ अन्धो हि राजा भवति यस्तु शास्त्रविवर्जितः ॥
अन्धः पश्यति चारेण शास्त्रहीनो न पश्यति ॥ १९ ॥
७१३ लंघयेच्छास्त्रयुक्तानि हेतुयुक्तानि यानि च ॥
स हि नश्यति वै राजा इह लोके परत्र च ॥ २२ ॥

Ibid. अ. १११.

- ७१४ मातृपा भवति सद्विद्या दीयमानापि वर्द्धते ॥
कूपस्थमिव पानीयं भवत्येव बहुदकम् ॥ ३४ ॥

Ibid. अ. ११३.

शौनकीयनीतिसार

- ७१५ यथायथा हि पुरुषः शास्त्रं समधिगच्छति ॥
तथातथास्य मेधा स्याद्विज्ञानं चास्य रोचते ॥ ४२ ॥
७१६ माता शत्रुः पिता वैरी बाला येन न पाठिताः ॥
सभामध्ये न शोभन्ते हंसमध्ये बका यथा ॥ ८० ॥
७१७ विद्यानाम कुरूप (नरस्य इ. पा.) रूपमधिकं विद्यातिगुप्तं धनं
(प्रच्छन्नगुप्तं इ. पा.)
विद्या साधुकरी जनप्रियकरी विद्या परं दैवतम् ॥
(भोगकरी यशःसुखकरी इ. पा.)
विद्या बन्धुजनार्त्तिनाशनकरी विद्या परं दैवतम्
(बन्धुजनो विदेशगमने इ. पा.)
विद्या राजसु पूजिता हि मनुजो विद्याविहीनः पशुः ॥ ८१ ॥
७१८ गृहे चाभ्यन्तरे द्रव्यं लग्नं चैव तु दृश्यते ॥
अक्षेपं हरणीयं च विद्या न ह्रियते परैः ॥ ८२ ॥

Ibid. अ. ११५.

XI. Dharma (धर्म)

- ७१९ धर्मश्चार्थश्च कामश्च त्रिवर्ग जीवतः फलम् ॥
धर्महीनस्य कामार्थो वन्ध्यासुतसमाबुधौ ॥ ४ ॥
- ७२० धर्मार्थस्तथा कामो धर्मल्लोकद्वयं तथा ॥
धर्म एकोऽनुयायेनं यत्र कुत्र च गामिनम् ॥ ५ ॥
- ७२१ शरीरेण समं नाशं सर्वमन्यद्वि गच्छति ॥
एको हि जायते जन्तुरेक एव विपद्यते ॥ ६ ॥
विष्णुधर्मोत्तर. द्वि. खं. अ. ३९.
- ७२२ धर्मः सुदुर्लभः पुंसां विशेषेण महीक्षिताम् ॥ ६६ ॥
- ७२३ यदि राजा मदाविष्टः स्वधर्मं न परित्यजेत् ॥
ततो जगति कस्तस्मात्पुमानप्यधिको भवेत् ॥ ६७ ॥
- ७२४ ध्रुवं जन्म सदा राज्ञां मोहश्चापि सदा ध्रुवः ॥
मोहाद्भुवश्च नरको राज्यं विन्दन्त्यतो बुधाः ॥ ६८ ॥
स्कांद. प्रभासखंड. प्र. श्लो. मा. अ. ३३८.
- ७२५ धर्मो माता पिता धर्मो धर्मो बन्धुः सुहृत्तथा ॥
आधारः सर्वभूतानां त्रैलोक्ये सचराचरे ॥ ६ ॥
स्कांद. आर्वाखंड. रेवाखंड. अ. १३३.
- ७२६ धर्मवाक्यं न च स्त्रीषु न विवाहे तथा रिपौ ॥
वञ्चने चार्थहीनौ च स्वनाशोऽनृतके तथा ॥ ५१ ॥
ब्रह्म. अ. १२०.
- ७२७ घृण्यमाण इवाङ्गारो निर्मलत्वं न गच्छति ॥
क्षोतांसि यस्य सततं प्रवहन्ति गिरेरिव ॥ ७३ ॥ (नरस्य)
पद्म. भूमिखंड. अ. ६६.
- ७२८ धर्मोऽतिष्ठति ह्यस्य समाजस्य ध्रुवं भवेत् ॥
यत्राधर्मः समुत्तिष्ठेन्न स्थेयं तत्र कर्हिषित् ॥ ९ ॥
भागवत. १०. अ. ४४.
- ७२९ एकः प्रसूयते जन्तुरेक एव प्रलीयते ॥
एको नु भुंक्ते सुकृतमेक एव च दुष्कृतम् ॥ २१ ॥
भागवत. १०. अ. ४९.

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- ७३० तर्कैऽप्रतिष्ठा श्रुतयो विभिन्नाः
नासावृषिर्यस्य मतं न भिन्नम् ॥
धर्मस्य तत्त्वं निहितं गुहायां
महाजनो येन गतः स पन्थाः ॥ ५१ ॥

गरुड. op. cit., अ. १०९.

XII. Times (कालमहिमा)

- ७३१ कालस्यैतद्गो सर्वमिति पैतामहो विधिः ॥ ६ ॥
- ७३२ कालस्यैव गोशो सर्वं दुर्गं दुर्गतं च यत् ॥
काले कुदे कथं कालात्प्राणं नोऽद्य भविष्यति ॥ ५ ॥

मत्स्य. अ. १३६.

- ७३३ त्रयः कालकृताः पाशाः सक्थन्ते नातिवर्तितुम् ॥
 विवाहो जन्ममरणं यदा यत्र तु येन च ॥ ४० ॥
 ७३४ यथा जलधरा व्योम्नि आम्यन्ते मातरिश्वना ॥
 तथेदं कर्मयुक्तेन कालेन आम्यते जगत् ॥ ४१ ॥

पद्म. भूमिखंड, अ. ८१.

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- ७३५ कालेन रिपुणा सन्धिः काले मित्रेण विग्रहः ॥
 कार्यकारणमाश्रित्य कालं क्षिपति पण्डितः ॥ ६ ॥
 ७३६ कालः पचति भूतानि कालः संहरते प्रजाः ॥
 कालः सुप्तेषु जागर्ति कालो हि दुरतिक्रमः ॥ ७ ॥
 ७३७ कालेषु हरते वीर्यं काले गर्भे च वर्तते ॥
 कालो जनयते सृष्टिं पुनः कालोऽपि संहरेत् ॥ ८ ॥
 ७३८ कालः सूक्ष्मगतिर्नित्यं द्विविधश्चेह भाष्यते ॥
 स्थूलसंग्रहचारेण सूक्ष्मचारान्तरेण च ॥ ९ ॥

गरुड, op. cit., अ. १०८.

XIII. Truth (सत्य)

- ७३९ सत्यं मूलं ब्राह्मणानां विष्णुः सत्ये प्रतिष्ठितः ॥ ९८ ॥
 तस्य मूलं तपो राज्ञि राज्यं सत्ये प्रतिष्ठितम् ॥
 नाहं मिथ्या प्रवक्ष्यामि कदापिदपि सुन्दरि ॥ ९९ ॥

वराह. अ. १३७.

- ७४० सत्ये प्रतिष्ठितो ङोको धर्मः सत्ये प्रतिष्ठितः ॥
 उदधिः सत्यवाक्येन नर्षादां न विलङ्घयेत् ॥ ४३ ॥
 ७४१ यः स्वं वाक्यं प्रतिज्ञाय न करोति यथोदितम् ॥
 किं तेन न कृतं पापं चौरेणाकृतबुद्धिना ॥ ४५ ॥

स्कांद. नागरखंड, अ. ५१.

- ७४२ सत्येनार्कः प्रतपति सत्ये तिष्ठति मेदिनी ॥
 सत्यं चोक्तं परो धर्मः सर्गः सत्ये प्रतिष्ठितः ॥ ४१ ॥

मार्कण्डेय.

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- ७४३ सत्येन रक्ष्यते धर्मो विद्या योगेन रक्ष्यते ॥
 मृजया रक्ष्यते पात्रं कुलं शीलेन रक्ष्यते ॥ १० ॥

गरुड, op. cit., अ. ११३.

XIV. Clear Conscience (भावशुद्धिः)

- ७४४ स्वमूर्तिः क्षालिता तीर्थे न शुद्धिमधिगच्छति ॥
 अन्तर्भावप्रदुष्टस्य विज्ञातोऽपि हुताशनम् ॥ ८५ ॥
 ७४५ न स्वर्गो नापवर्गश्च देहनिर्वहणं परम् ॥
 भावशुद्धिः परं शौचं प्रमाणं सर्वकर्मसु ॥ ८६ ॥
 ७४६ अन्यथाऽऽलिङ्ग्यते कान्ता भावेन दुहिताऽन्यथा ॥
 मन्त्रसो भिद्यते क्षुत्तिरभिज्ञेष्वपि वस्तुषु ॥ ८७ ॥

- ७४७ अम्यथैव सती पुत्रं चिन्तयेदन्यथा पतिम् ॥
यथा यथा स्वभावस्य महाभाग उदाहृतम् ॥ ८८ ॥
- ७४८ परिष्वक्तोऽपि यज्ञार्या भावहीनां न कारयेत् ॥
नाद्याद्विबिधमज्ञाद्यं रस्यानि सुरभीणि च ॥ ८९ ॥
- ७४९ अभावेन नरस्तम्भाद्भावः सर्वत्र कारणम् ॥
चित्तं शोधय यत्नेन किमन्यैर्बाह्यशोधनैः ॥ ९० ॥
- ७५० [भावतः शुचिशुद्धात्मा स्वर्गं मोक्षं च विन्दति ॥
ज्ञानामलाम्भसा पुंसः स वैराग्यमृदा पुनः ॥ ९१ ॥

पद्म. भूमिखंड. अ. ६६.

XV. Life (मानवजीवन)

- ७५१ धिग्जन्म भाग्यरहितं धिग्जन्म धनवर्जितम् ॥
धिग्जन्म कीर्तिरहितं धिग्जन्मातिथ्यवर्जितम् ॥ ८ ॥
- ७५२ धिग्जन्माचाररहितं धिग्जन्म ज्ञानवर्जितम् ॥
धिग्जन्म यत्नरहितं धिग्जन्म सुखवर्जितम् ॥ ९ ॥
- ७५३ धिग्जन्म बन्धुरहितं धिग्जन्म कृपातिवर्जितम् ॥
नरस्य बहूपत्यस्य धिग्जन्मैश्वर्यवर्जितम् ॥ १० ॥

स्कांद. वैष्णवखंड. वैकटाचलमा. अ. २०.

- ७५४ धिग्जीवितं शास्त्रकलोज्झितस्य
धिग्जीवितं चोद्यमवर्जितस्य ॥
धिग्जीवितं ज्ञातिपराजितस्य
धिग्जीवितं व्यर्थमनोरथस्य ॥ ६५ ॥
- ७५५ कथं भुनक्ति स दिवा कथं रात्रौ स्वपित्यहो ॥
रहः शर्म कथं तस्य यथाभिभवनं रिपोः ॥ ६६ ॥

स्कान्द. काशीखंड. अ. १.

- ७५६ ऋतेन जीवेदनृतेन जीवेत्
मितेन जीवेत्प्रमितेन जीवेत् ॥
सत्यानृताभ्यामथवापि जीवेत्
श्ववृत्तिमेकां परिवर्जयेत् ॥ ३४ ॥

विष्णुधर्मोत्तर. द्वि. खंड. अ. ८२.

शौनकीयनीतिसार

- ७५७ यज्जीग्यते (सजीग्यते इ. पा.) क्षणमपि प्रथितं मनुष्यै-
र्विज्ञानविक्रमयज्ञोभिरभग्नमानैः ॥
तन्नाम जीवितमिति प्रवदन्ति तज्ज्ञाः
काकोऽपि जीवति चिरं च बलिं च भुंक्ते ॥ ३३ ॥
- ७५८ किं जीवितेन धनमानविवर्जितेन
मित्रेण किं भवति भीतिसंक्रितेन ॥
सिंहव्रतं चरत गच्छत मा विषादं
काकोऽपि जीवति चिरं च बलिं च भुंक्ते ॥ ३४ ॥

- ७५९ यो वात्मनीह न गुरौ न च भृत्यवर्गे
 दीने दयां न कुरुते न च मित्रकार्ये ॥
 किं तस्य जीवितफलेन मनुष्यलोके
 काकोऽपि जीवति चिरं च बलिं च भुङ्क्ते ॥ ३५ ॥
- ७६० यस्य त्रिवर्गशून्यानि दिव्यान्यायान्ति यान्ति च ॥
 स लौहकारभक्षेव श्वसन्नपि न जीवति ॥ ३६ ॥
- ७६१ स्वाधीनवृत्तेः साफल्यं न पराधीनवर्त्तिता ॥
 ये पराधीनकर्माणो जीवन्तोऽपि च ते मृताः ॥ ३७ ॥
- ७६२ सु(स्व)पूरा वै कापुरुषाः सु(स्व)पूरो मूषिकाञ्जलिः ॥
 असंतुष्टः कापुरुषः स्वल्पकेनापि तुष्यति ॥ ३८ ॥

गरुड. op. cit. अ. ११५.

XVI. Happiness At Home

- ७६३ किमरण्ये त्वदान्तस्य दान्तस्यापि किमाश्रमे ॥ ३१५ ॥
- ७६४ आर्जवे वर्त्तमानस्य आश्रमैः किं प्रयोजनम् ॥ ३१६ ॥
- ७६५ वनेऽपि दोषाः प्रभवन्ति रागिणां
 गृहेऽपि पञ्चेन्द्रियनिग्रहस्तपः ॥
 अकुत्सिते कर्मणि यः प्रवर्त्तते
 निवृत्तरागस्य गृहं तपोवनम् ॥ ३१७ ॥
- ७६६ स्वकर्मधर्माजितजीवितानां
 स्वेष्टेव दारेषु सदा रतानाम् ॥
 जितेन्द्रियाणामतिथिप्रियाणां
 गृहेऽपि मोक्षः पुरुषोत्तमानाम् ॥ ३१८ ॥
- ७६७ न शब्दशास्त्रे निरतस्य मोक्षो
 न वर्णसङ्गे निरतस्य चैव ॥
 न भोजनाच्छादनतत्परस्य
 न लोकचित्तग्रहणे रतस्य ॥ ३१९ ॥
- ७६८ एकान्तशीलस्य दृढव्रतस्य
 सर्वेन्द्रियप्रीतिनिवर्तकस्य ॥
 अभ्यात्मयोगे गतमानसस्य
 मोक्षो ध्रुवं नित्यमर्हिसकस्य ॥ ३२० ॥
- ७६९ आत्मवत्सर्वभूतानि यः पश्यति स पश्यति ॥ ३५९ ॥
- ७७० पुत्रार्थं मैथुनं यस्य स्वर्गार्थं यस्य जीवितं ॥
 एतज्जवेष्ट सर्वस्वं धातूनामिव काञ्चनम् ॥ ३६० ॥
- ७७१ कामक्रोधौ बिलिर्जित्य किमरण्यैः करिष्यति ॥
 अन्धेन धार्यते देहः कुलं शीलेन धार्यते ॥ ३४७ ॥
- ७७२ प्राणा मित्रेण धार्यन्ते क्रोधः सत्येन धार्यते ॥
 यस्तु क्रोधं समुत्पन्नं संधारयति चाऽऽत्मनः ॥ ३४८ ॥

पद्म. सृष्टिबन्ध, अ. ११.

XVII. The True Self

- ७७३ सर्वेषामपि भूतानां नृप स्वात्मैव बल्लभः ॥
 इतरेऽपत्यवित्ताद्यास्तद्रल्लभतयैव हि ॥ ५० ॥
 ७७४ तद्राजेन्द्र यथा स्नेहः स्वस्वकात्मनि देहिनाम् ॥
 न तथा ममतालम्बिपुत्रवित्तगृहादिषु ॥ ५१ ॥
 ७७५ देहात्मवादिनां पुंसामपि राजन्यसत्तम ॥
 यथा देहः प्रियतमस्तथा न ह्यनु ये च तम् ॥ ५२ ॥

भागवत, १०. अ. १४.

XVIII. Self-preservation (आत्मरक्षण)

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- ७७६ आपदर्थे धनं रक्षेद्वाराग्रक्षेद्धनैरपि ॥
 आत्मानं सततं रक्षेद्दरैरपि धनैरपि ॥ १ ॥
 ७७७ त्यजेदेकं कुलस्यार्थं ग्रामस्यार्थं कुलं त्यजेत् ॥
 ग्रामं जनपदस्यार्थं आत्मांश्च पृथिवीं त्यजेत् ॥ २ ॥

Ibid. अ. १०९.

XIX. Intellect (चित्त)

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- ७७८ चित्तायत्तं धातुषडयं शरीरं
 चित्ते नष्टे धातवो यांति नाशम् ॥
 तस्माच्चित्तं सर्वदा रक्षणीयं
 स्वस्थे चित्ते धातवः सम्भवन्ति ॥ ७५ ॥

गरुड. op. clt., अ. ११४.

XX. Effort (उद्यम)

- ७७९ विपद्यपि च प्राज्ञैर्न संत्याज्यः क्वचिदुद्यमः ॥
 क्व च चंचुपुटस्तस्य क्व च तत्पादपीडनम् ॥ ६६ ॥
 ७८० क्व च द्वयोस्तथाभूतं दूरे मोक्षणमद्भुतम् ॥
 दुर्बलेऽप्युद्यमः श्रेयानिति शास्त्रेषु गीयते ॥ ६७ ॥
 ७८१ तस्मान्नाग्यानुसारेण फलत्येव सदोद्यमः ॥
 प्रशंसंत्युद्यमं चातो विपद्यपि मनीषिणः ॥ ६८ ॥

स्कांद. आवन्यखंड. चतुराशीतिलिंगमा. अ. ४५.

XXI. Anxiety (चिन्ताज्वर)

- ७८२ युक्तमुक्तं पुराविमिश्रिन्तामूर्तिः सुदारुणा ॥
 न भेषजैर्लघनैर्वा न चानैर्हृत्पथमगते ॥ ६८ ॥
 ७८३ चिन्ताज्वरो मनुष्याणां क्षुधां निद्रां बलं हरेत् ॥
 रूपमुत्साहबुद्धिं श्रीं जीवितं च न संशयः ॥ ६९ ॥
 ७८४ ज्वरो व्यतीते षडहं जीर्णज्वर इहोपपद्यते ॥
 असौ चिन्ताज्वरस्त्रीषु प्रत्यहं नवदां व्रजेत् ॥ ७० ॥

- ७८५ धन्यो धन्वन्तरिर्नात्र चरकश्चरती ह न ॥
नासत्यावपि नासत्यावत्र चिन्ताज्वरे किल ॥ ७१ ॥
स्कांद. काशीखंड. अ. १.
- ७८६ यश्चिन्ताक्यो ज्वरः पुंसामौषधैर्नापि शाम्यति ॥ ११ ॥
स्कांद. काशीखंड.
- ७८७ एकैव सार्थका चिन्ता धर्मस्यार्थे विचिन्त्यते ॥ २९ ॥
द्वितीया सार्थका चिन्ता योगिनां धर्मेनन्दिनी ॥
- ७८८ अन्या निरर्थिका चिन्ता बलतेजःप्रणाशिनी ॥
नाशयेत्सर्वसौख्यं तु रूपहानिं निदर्शयेत् ॥ ३१ ॥
- ७८९ तृष्णां मोहं तथा लोभमेतांश्चिन्ता हि प्रापयेत् ॥
पापमुत्पादयेच्चिन्ता चिन्तिता च दिने दिने ॥ ३२ ॥
- ७९० चिन्ताव्याधिप्रकाशाय नरकाय प्रकल्पयेत् ॥
तस्माच्चिन्तां परित्यज्य चानुवर्तस्व शोभने ॥ ३३ ॥
पद्म. भूमिखंड. अ. १४.

XXII. Friend-Enemy (मित्र-शत्रु)

- ७९१ दातुः परीक्षा दुर्भिस्ते रणे शूरस्य जायते ॥
आपत्काले तु मित्रस्याशक्तौ स्त्रीणां कुलस्य हि ॥ १२ ॥
- ७९२ विनये संकटे प्राप्तेऽवितथस्य परोक्षितः ॥
सुखेहस्य तथा तात नान्यथा सत्यमीरितम् ॥ १३ ॥
- ७९३ दुःखेऽपि प्रियसङ्गो वै न दुःखाय प्रजायते ॥ ८ ॥
शिव. रुद्रसंहिता. तृ. खंड. अ. ३८.
- ७९४ आक्रोशकसमो लोके सुहृदन्यो न विद्यते ॥
यस्तु दुष्कृतमादाय सुकृतं स्वं प्रयच्छति ॥ ३४४ ॥
पद्म. सृष्टिखंड. अ. १९.
- ७९५ अन्येत्त्वर्थकृता मैत्री यावदर्थविडम्बना ॥
पुंभिः स्त्रीषु कृता यद्वत्सुमनस्विष षट्पदैः ॥ ६ ॥
भागवत. १०. अ. ४७.
- ७९६ नैकत्र प्रियसंवासः सुहृदां चित्रकर्मणाम् ॥
ओषेन व्यूह्यमानानां प्लवानां स्रोतसो यथा ॥ २५ ॥
- ७९७ कश्चित्पशव्यं निहतं भूर्यम्बुतृणवीरुधम् ॥
बृहद्वनं तदधुना यत्रास्ते त्वं सुहृद्वृतः ॥ २६ ॥
- ७९८ पुंसस्त्रिवर्गो विहितः सुहृदो ह्यनुभावितः ॥
न तेषु ह्रिद्यमानेषु त्रिवर्गोऽर्थाय कल्पते ॥ २८ ॥
भागवत. १०. अ. ५.

बृहस्पतिनीतिसार

- ७९९ न कश्चित्कस्यचिन्मित्रं न कश्चित्कस्यचिद्विपुः ॥
कारणादेव जायन्ते मित्राणि रिपवस्तथा ॥ १ ॥
- ८०० शोकत्राणं भयत्राणं प्रीतिविश्वासभाजनम् ॥
केन रक्षमिदं सृष्टं मित्रमित्यक्षरद्वयम् ॥ २ ॥

- ८०१ सकृदुच्चरितं येन हरिरित्यक्षरद्वयम् ॥
बद्धः परिकरस्तेन मोक्षाय गमनं प्रति ॥ ३ ॥
- ८०२ न मातरि न दारेषु न सोदर्ये न चात्मजे ॥
विश्वासस्तादृशः पुंसां यादृक्मित्रे स्वभावजे ॥ ४ ॥
- ८०३ समधर्मा हि मर्मज्ञस्तीक्ष्णः स्वजनकण्टकः ॥
न तथा बाधते शत्रुः कृतवैरो बहिः स्थितः ॥ १७ ॥
- ८०४ न विश्वसेदविश्वस्ते मित्रस्यापि न विश्वसेत् ॥
कदाचित्कुपितं मित्रं सर्वं गुह्यं प्रकाशयेत् ॥ २२ ॥
- ८०५ न विश्वसेदविश्वस्तं विश्वस्तं नातिविश्वसेत् ॥
विश्वासाद्भयमुत्पन्नं मूलादपि निकृन्तति ॥ ४७ ॥
- ८०६ वैरिणा सह सन्धाय विश्वस्तो यदि तिष्ठति ॥
स वृक्षाग्रे प्रसुप्तो हि पतितः प्रतिबुध्यते ॥ ४८ ॥
- ८०७ केचिन्मृगमुखा व्याघ्राः केचिव्याघ्रमुखा मृगाः ॥
तत्स्वरूपपरिज्ञाने ह्यविश्वासः पदे पदे ॥ ६१ ॥

गरुड. op. cit., अ. ११४.

- ८०८ सकृदुष्टञ्च यो मित्रं पुनः सन्धातुमिच्छति ॥
स मृत्युमेव गृह्णीयाद्गर्भमश्वतरी यथा ॥ १९ ॥
- ८०९ शत्रोरपत्यानि प्रियंवदानि
नोपेक्षितव्यानि बुधैर्मनुजैः ॥
तान्येव कालेषु विपत्कराणि
विषस्य पात्राण्यपि दारुणानि ॥ २० ॥
- ८१० उपकारगृहीतेन शत्रुणा शत्रुमद्धरेत् ॥
पादलभं करस्थेन कण्टकेनैव कण्टकम् ॥ २१ ॥
- ८११ अपकारपरान्नित्यं चिन्तयेन्न कदाचन ॥
स्वयमेव पतियन्ति कूलजाता इव दुमाः ॥ २२ ॥

Ibid. अ. ११०.

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- ८१२ परोक्षे कार्यहन्तारं प्रत्यक्षे प्रियवादिनम् ॥
वर्जयेत्तादृशं मित्रं मायामयमिदं तथा ॥ ४८ ॥
- ८१३ तत्र मुक्तादरस्नेहो विलुप्तं यत्र सौहृदम् ॥
तदेव केवलं श्लाघ्यं यस्यात्मा क्रियते स्तुतौ ॥ ५६ ॥

Ibid. ७. अ. ११५.

XXIII. General Words of Wisdom

- ८१४ विरोधं नोत्तमैर्गच्छेन्नाधमैश्च सदा बुधः ॥
विवाहश्च विवादश्च तुल्यश्रीलैर्नृपेण्यते ॥ २२ ॥
- ८१५ नारभेत कलिं ब्राह्मणशुष्कवैरं च वर्जयेत् ॥
अत्यरूपहालिस्तौढव्या वैरेणार्यागमं त्यजेत् ॥ २३ ॥

विष्णु. तृतीयांश. अ. १२.

- ८१६ अकर्तव्यं न कर्तव्यं प्राणैः कण्ठगतैरपि ॥
कर्तव्यमेव कर्तव्यमिति धर्मविदो विदुः ॥ ८ ॥
पद्म. उत्तरखंड. अ. १७.
- ८१७ धर्मार्थिकामोक्षाणां शरीरे साधनं ततः ॥
महता तु प्रयत्नेन शरीरं पालयेद्बुधः ॥ ४५ ॥
ब्रह्म. अ. १२०.
- ८१८ नित्यं क्रोधाच्छ्रयं रक्षेद्धनं रक्षेत्समत्सरात् ॥
विद्यां मानापमानाभ्यामात्मानं तु प्रमादतः ॥ ४० ॥
स्कांद. आवन्यखंड. चतुरशीतिलिंगमा. अ. २५.
- ८१९ इदानीं तु मया ज्ञातं त्यागान्नास्ति परं सुखम् ॥
नास्ति विद्यासमं चक्षुर्नास्ति चक्षुःसमं बलम् ॥ २८ ॥
- ८२० नास्ति रागसमं दुःखं नास्ति त्यागात्परं सुखम् ॥
यः कामान्कुरुते सर्वान्यश्चैतान्केवलास्त्यजेत् ॥ २९ ॥
बराह. अ. १५३.
- ८२१ आचारः कुलमाख्याति वपुराख्याति भोजनम् ॥
वचनं श्रुतमाख्याति स्नेहमाख्याति लोचनम् ॥ १८ ॥
[आकारेण तथा गत्या चेष्टया भाषितैरपि ॥
नेत्रवक्त्रविकाराभ्यां ज्ञायतेऽन्तर्हितं मनः ॥ १९ ॥
उज्ज्वलं सरसञ्चैव वक्त्रमारक्तकं तथा ॥
नेत्रं चतुर्विधं प्रोक्तं तस्य भावं पृथग्बुधाः ॥ २० ॥
उज्ज्वलं मित्रसंयोगे सरसं पुत्रदर्शने ॥
वक्त्रं च कामिनीयोगे आरक्तं शत्रुदर्शने ॥ २१ ॥]
शिव. शतरुद्रसं. अ. ३८.
- ८२२ नैकस्यार्थे बहून्हन्यादिति शास्त्रेषु निश्चयः ॥
एकं हन्याद्बहूनां हि न पापी तेन जायते ॥ ९६ ॥
वामन. अ. ५८.
- ८२३ श्वः कार्यमद्य कुर्वीत पूर्वाह्ने चापराह्निकम् ॥
न हि प्रतीक्षते मृत्युः कृतं वास्य न वा कृतम् ॥ ८ ॥
(of also, स्कांद. नागरखंड. अ. २६, १८.)
न कालस्य प्रियः कश्चिद्वैष्यो वास्य न विद्यते ॥
आयुष्ये कर्मणि क्षीणे प्रसह्य हरते जनम् ॥ १० ॥
विष्णुधर्मोत्तर. प्रथमखंड. अ. ११७.
- ८२४ नापृष्टः कस्यचिद्ब्रूयान्न चान्यायेन पृच्छतः ॥
जानन्नपि हि मेधावी जडवल्लोक आचरेत् ॥ १८ ॥
- ८२५ विदुषामपि शिष्याणां पुत्राणां च क्रियावताम् ॥
अपृष्टमपि वक्तव्यं श्रेयः श्रद्धावतां हितम् ॥ १९ ॥
पद्म. पातालखंड. अ. ११०.
- ८२६ दशसूनासमश्चक्री दशचक्रीसमो ध्वजः ॥
दशध्वजासमो वेद्या दशवेद्यासमो नृपः ॥ १९ ॥
भविष्य. उत्तरपर्व. २३६, पद्म. सृष्टिखंड. अ. ११.

- ८२७ यावत्तिष्ठति तारुण्यं तावज्जुञ्जन्ति मानवाः ॥
सुखभोगादिकं सर्वं स्वेच्छया रमते नरः ॥ ४५ ॥ ❀
- ८२८ ज्ञानतो वीर्यतो राजन्धनतो जन्मतस्तथा ॥
शीलतस्तु प्रधाना ये ते प्रधाना मता मम ॥ ९९ ॥
- ८२९ न तेन स्थविरो भवति येनास्य पलितं शिरः ॥
यो वै युवाप्यनधीयानस्तं देवाः स्थविरं विदुः ॥ १०० ॥
- ८३० यथा काष्ठमयो हस्ती यथा चर्ममयो मृगः ॥
यश्च विप्रोऽनधीयानस्त्रयस्ते नाम विभ्रति ॥ १०१ ॥
- ८३१ यथा योषाऽफला स्त्रीषु यथा गौर्गवि चाफला ॥
यथा चाज्ञेऽफलं दानं यथा विप्रोऽनृचोऽफलः ॥ १०२ ॥
भविष्य, ब्रह्मपर्व, अ. ४.
- ८३२ विषवृक्षमपि स्थाप्य कश्चिन्नस्ति पुनः स्वयम् ॥ ३१ ॥
स्कान्द, नागरखंड, अ. ७०.
- ८३३ [तण्डुलस्य यथा चर्म यथा ताम्रस्य कालिमा ॥
नश्यन्ति क्रियया वीर पुरुषस्य तथा मलः ॥ ९२ ॥
८३४ जीवस्य तण्डुलस्येव सहजोऽपि मलो महान् ॥
नश्यत्येव न संदेहस्तस्मात्कर्मोदितं कुरु ॥ ९३ ॥]
पद्म, पातालखंड, अ. ९९.
- ८३५ बुद्धिर्यस्य बलं तस्य निर्बुद्धेस्तु कुतो बलम् ॥
कूपे सिंहे मदोन्मत्तश्शशकेन निपातितः ॥ ५२ ॥
शिव, रुद्रसंहिता, खंड, ४, अ. २१९.
- ८३६ नातिस्नेहः प्रसङ्गो वा कर्तव्यः कापि केनचित् ॥
कुर्वन्निबन्देत सन्तापं कपोत इव दीनधीः ॥ ५२ ॥
भागवत, ११, स्कन्ध, अ. ७.
- ८३७ विरुद्धशीलयोः प्रभवोर्विरुद्धा भजतां गतिः ॥ २ ॥
Ibid, X, अ. ८७.
- ८३८ मन एव मनुष्यस्य पूर्वरूपाणि शंसति ॥ ६८ ॥
Ibid, अ. २८.
- ८३९ आशासानो न वै भृत्यः स्वामिन्याशिष आत्मनः ॥
न स्वामी भृत्यतः स्वाम्यमिच्छन् यो राति चाशिषः ॥ ५ ॥
Ibid, ७, अ. ४.
- ८४० [संप्राप्य भावते जन्म सत्कर्मसु पराङ्मुखः ॥
पीयूषकलशं हित्वा विषभाण्डं स दृच्छति ॥ ६ ॥]
Ibid, ५, अ. १९.
- ८४१ योऽधुवेणात्मना नार्था न धर्मं न यशः पुमान् ॥
ईहेत भूतदयया स शोच्यः स्वावरैरपि ॥ ८ ॥
- ८४२ अहो दैव्यमहो कष्टं पारक्यैः क्षणभङ्गुरैः ॥
यानोपकुर्वादिस्वार्थैर्मर्त्यैः स्वज्ञातिविग्रहैः ॥ १० ॥
Ibid, ६, अ. १०.

- ८४३ ननु स्वार्थपरो लोको न वेद परसंकटम् ॥
यदि वेद न याचेत नेति नाह यदीश्वरः ॥ ६ ॥
Ibid. ६. अ. १०.
- ८४४ जातस्य मृत्युर्ध्रुव एष सर्वतः
प्रतिक्रिया यस्य न चेह क्लृप्ता ॥
लोको यशश्चाथ ततो यदि ह्यमुं
मृत्युं वरं को न वृणीत युक्तम् ॥ ३२ ॥
Ibid. ६. अ. १०.
- ८४५ दासीनां को नु संतापः स्वामिनः परिचर्यया ॥
अभीक्ष्णं लब्धमानानां दास्या दासीव दुर्भगाः ॥ ४१ ॥
Ibid. ६. अ. १४.
- ८४६ यथा दारुमयी नारी यथा यन्त्रमयो मृगः ॥
एवं भूतानि मघवन्नीशतन्त्राणि विद्धि भोः ॥ १० ॥
Ibid. ६. अ. १२.
- ८४७ कालो देशः क्रिया कर्ता करणं कार्यमागमः ॥
द्रव्यं फलमिति ब्रह्मज्ञवधोक्तोऽजया हरिः ॥ ३१ ॥
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- ८४८ न वै शूरा विकल्थन्ते दर्शयन्त्यैव पौरुषम् ॥
न गृह्णीमो वचो राजन्नातुरस्थो मुमूर्षतः ॥ २० ॥
भागवत. १०. अ. ५०.
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कुलं समूलं दहति ब्रह्मस्वारणिपावकः ॥ ३४ ॥
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- ८५० न हि भीतवधः श्लाघ्यो न स्वर्ग्यः शूरमातिनाम् ॥ ४ ॥
Ibid. ६. अ. ११.
- ८५१ कालो दैवं कर्म जीवः स्वभावो
द्रव्यं क्षेत्रं प्राण आत्मा विकारः ॥
तत्सङ्घातो बीजरोहप्रवाह-
स्त्वन्मायैषा तन्निषेधः प्रपद्ये ॥ २६ ॥
Ibid. १०. अ. ६३.
- ८५२ निःस्वं त्यजन्ति गणिका अकल्पं नृपतिं प्रजाः ॥
अधीतविद्या आचार्यमृत्विजो दत्तदक्षिणाम् ॥ ७ ॥
- ८५३ खगा वीतफलं वृक्षं भुक्त्वा चातिथयो गृहम् ॥
दग्धं मृगास्तथारण्यं जारो भुक्त्वा रतां स्त्रियम् ॥ ८ ॥
भागवत. १०. अ. ४७.
- ८५४ एवं साधारणं देहमव्यक्तप्रभवाप्ययम् ॥
को विद्वानात्मसात्कृत्वा हन्ति जन्तूनुतेऽसतः ॥ १२ ॥
Ibid. १०. अ. १०.
- ८५५ कोऽन्वर्थतृष्णो विसृजेत्प्राणेभ्योऽपि य ईप्सितः ॥
यं क्रीणात्सुभिः प्रेष्टैस्तत्करः सेवको वणिक् ॥ १० ॥

- ८५६ कथं प्रियाया अनुकम्पितायाः
सङ्गं रहस्यं हविरांश्च मन्त्रान् ॥
सुहृत्सु च स्नेहसितः शिशूनां
कलाक्षराणामनुरक्तचित्तः ॥ ११ ॥
- ८५७ पुत्रान्स्मरंस्ता दुहिर्दुर्हृदयया
भ्रातृन्स्वसृषीं पितरौ च दीनौ ॥
गृहान्मनोज्ञैरुपरिच्छदांश्च
वृत्तीसु कुल्याः पशुभृत्यवर्गान् ॥ १२ ॥
- Ibid. ७ अ. ११.
- ८५८ स्त्रीषु नर्मविवाहे च वृत्त्यर्थे प्राणसङ्कटे ॥
गोब्राह्मणार्थे हिंसायां नानृतं स्याज्जुगुप्सितम् ॥ ४३ ॥
- Ibid. ७. अ. १९.
- ८५९ सुलभा युधि विप्रर्षे ह्यनिवृत्तास्तनुत्यजः ॥
न तथा तीर्थं आयाते श्रद्धया ये धनत्यजः ॥ ९ ॥
- Ibid. ८. अ. २०.
- ८६० मेनेऽतिदुर्लभं पुंसां सर्वं तत्स्वप्नसंस्तुतिः ॥
विद्वान्विभवनिर्माणं तमो विशति यत्पुमान् ॥ १६ ॥
- Ibid. ९. अ. ४.
- ८६१ पुंसां श्लाघ्यतमं मन्ये दण्डमर्हत्तमार्पितम् ॥
यं न माता पिता भ्राता सुहृदश्चादिशन्ति हि ॥ ४ ॥
- Ibid. ८. अ. २२.
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- ८६३ विनशंत्युपकाराणि तस्मात्सेवा सुदुष्करा ॥
स्वामी सर्पश्च वह्निश्च तप्तभावं व्रजन्ति हि ॥ ४१ ॥ ❀
- ८६४ यथा पुण्यसमं मित्रं नास्ति शास्त्रसमो गुरुः ॥ ६७ ॥
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- ८६५ गोस्त्रीद्विजानां परिरक्षणार्थं
विवाहकाले सुहृदां प्रसंगे ॥
प्राणालये सर्वधनापहारे
पञ्चानृतान्याहुरपातकानि ॥ ५० ॥
- ब्रह्म. अ. १२०.
- ८६६ पश्चात्तापो हि सर्वेषामघानां निष्कृतिः परा ॥
तेनैव कुरुते सद्यः प्रायश्चित्तं सुधीर्नरः ॥ ८५ ॥
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उपायश्चेति चत्वारः प्रशस्या दीर्घदर्शिभिः ॥ १७७ ॥
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- पद्म. उत्तरखंड. अ. १२८.

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अकिंचनत्वमधिकं राज्यादपि जितात्मनः ॥ २४९ ॥
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- ८७० आत्मा वै यमितो येन स यमस्तु विशिष्यते ॥ ३२४ ॥
- ८७१ दण्डो रक्षति भूतानि दण्डः पालयते प्रजाः ॥
निवारयति पापिष्ठान्दण्डो दुर्जय एव वा ॥ ३२७ ॥
- ८७२ श्रुतस्य हि दमो मूलं दमो धर्मः सनातनः ॥ ३३७ ॥
दमेन हीनं न पुनन्ति वेदा
यद्यप्यधीताः सह षड्विरङ्गैः ॥
सांख्यं च योगश्च कुलं च जन्म
तीर्थाभिषेकश्च निरर्थकानि ॥ ३४० ॥
- ८७३ अमृतस्येव तृप्येत अपमानस्य योगवित् ॥
विषवच्च जुगुप्सेत समानस्य सदा द्विजः ॥ ३४१ ॥
- ८७४ अपमानात्तपोवृद्धिः संमानाच्च तपःक्षयः ॥
अर्चितः पूजितो विप्रो मुग्धा गौरिव गच्छति ॥ ३४२ ॥
पद्म. सृष्टिखंड. अ. १९.

बृहस्पतिनीतिसार

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विरोधं सह मित्रेण संप्रीतिं शत्रुसेविना ॥ ३ ॥
- ८७६ मूर्खशिष्योपदेशेन दुष्टस्त्रीभरणेन च ॥
दुष्टानां संप्रयोगेण पंडितोऽप्यवसीदति ॥ ४ ॥
- ८७७ ब्राह्मणं बालिशं क्षत्रमयोद्धारं विशं जडम् ॥
शूद्रमक्षरसंयुक्तं दूरतः परिवर्जयेत् ॥ ५ ॥
- ८७८ उत्तमैः सह साङ्गत्यं पण्डितैः सह सत्कथाम् ॥
अलुब्धैः सह मित्रत्वं कुर्वाणो नावसीदति ॥ १२ ॥
- ८७९ परीवादं परार्थं च परिहासं परस्त्रियम् ॥
परवेश्मनि वासं च न कुर्वीत कदाचन ॥ १३ ॥
- ८८० परोऽपि हितवान्बन्धुर्बन्धुरप्यहितः परः ॥
अहितो देहजो व्याधिर्हितमारण्यमौषधम् ॥ १४ ॥
- ८८१ स बन्धुर्यो हिते युक्तः स पिता यस्तु पोषकः ॥
तन्मित्रं यत्र विश्वासः स देशो यत्र जीव्यते ॥ १५ ॥
- ८८२ स भृत्यो यो विधेयस्तु तद्वीजं यत्प्ररोहति ॥
सा भार्या या प्रियं ब्रूते स पुत्रो यस्तु जीवति ॥ १६ ॥
- ८८३ स जीवति गुणा यस्य धर्मो यस्य स जीवति ॥
गुणधर्मविहीनो यो निष्फलं तस्य जीवनम् ॥ १७ ॥
- ८८४ [त्यज दुर्जनसंसर्गं भज साधुसमागमम् ॥
कुरु पुण्यमहोरात्रं स्मर नित्यमनित्यताम् ॥ २६ ॥]
- ८८५ भुजङ्गमे वेश्मनि दृष्टिदृष्टे व्याधौ चिकित्सा विनिवर्तते च ॥
देहे च बाल्यादिवयोऽन्विते च कालावृत्तोऽसौ लभते धृतिं कः ॥ २९ ॥
गरुड. op. cit., अ. १०८,

- ८८६ चक्रेकेन पादेन तिष्ठत्येकेन बुद्धिमान् ॥
न परीक्ष्य परं स्थानं पूर्वमायत्तनं त्यजेत् ॥ ४ ॥
- ८८७ त्यजेद्देशमसद्वृत्तं वासं सोपद्रवं त्यजेत् ॥
त्यजेत्कृपणराजानं मित्रं मायामयं त्यजेत् ॥ ५ ॥
- ८८८ अर्थेन किं कृपणहस्तगतेन केन (पुंसां इ. पा.)
ज्ञानेन किं बहुशठाग्रहसंकुलेन ॥
रूपेण किं गुणपराक्रमवर्जितेन
मित्रेण किं व्यसनकालपराङ्मुखेन ॥ ६ ॥
- ८८९ लुब्धमर्थप्रदानेन श्लाघ्यमञ्जलिकर्मणा ॥
मूर्खं छन्दानुवृत्त्या च याथातथ्येन पंडितम् ॥ १० ॥
- ८९० सद्भावेन हि तुष्यन्ति देवाः सत्पुरुषा द्विजाः ॥
इतरे खाद्यपानेन मानदानेन पण्डिताः ॥ ११ ॥
- ८९१ उत्तमं प्रणिपातेन शठं भेदेन योजयेत् ॥
नीचं स्वल्पप्रदानेन समं तुल्यपराक्रमैः ॥ १२ ॥
- ८९२ यस्य यस्य हि यो भावस्तस्य तस्य हितं वदन् ॥
अनुप्रविश्य मेधावी क्षिप्रमात्मवशं नयेत् ॥ १३ ॥
- ८९३ नदीनां च नखीनां (नखिनां इ. पा.) च शृङ्गिणां शस्त्रपाणिनाम् ॥
विश्वासो नैव गन्तव्यः स्त्रीषु राजकुलेषु च ॥ १४ ॥
- ८९४ अर्थनाशं मनस्तापं गृहे दुश्चरितानि च ॥
वञ्चनं चापमानं च मतिमात्रं प्रकाशयेत् ॥ १५ ॥
- ८९५ हीनदुर्जनसंसर्गं अत्यन्तविरहादरः ॥
स्नेहोऽन्यगोहवासश्च नारीसच्छीलनाशनम् ॥ १६ ॥
- ८९६ कस्य दोषः कुले नास्ति व्याधिना को न पीडितः ॥
केन न व्यसनं प्राप्तं श्रियः कस्य निरन्तराः ॥ १७ ॥
- ८९७ कोऽर्थं प्राप्य न गर्वितो भुवि नरः कस्यापदो नागताः
स्त्रीभिः कस्य न गर्वितो भुवि मनः को नाम राज्ञां प्रियः ॥
कः कालस्य न गोचरान्तरगतः कोऽर्थी गतो गौरवं
को वा दुर्जनवागुरा निपतितः क्षेमेण यातः पुमान् ॥ १८ ॥
- ८९८ सुहृत्स्वजनबन्धुर्न बुद्धिर्यस्य न चात्मनि
यस्मिन्कर्मणि सिद्धेऽपि न दृश्येत फलोदयः ॥
विपत्तौ च महदुःखं तद्बुधः कथमाचरेत् ॥ १९ ॥
- ८९९ यस्मिन्देशे न संमानं न प्रीतिर्न च बांधवाः ॥
न च विद्यागमः कश्चित् देशं परिवर्जयेत् ॥ २० ॥
- ९०० विद्याघातो ह्यनभ्यासः स्त्रीणां घातः कुचैलता ॥
व्याधीनां भोजनं जीर्णं शत्रोर्घातः प्रपञ्चता (प्रगल्भता इ. पा.) ॥ २१ ॥
- ९०१ दस्करस्य वधो दण्डः कुमित्रस्याल्पभाषणम् ॥
पृथक्शय्या तु नारीणां ब्राह्मणस्यानिमज्जनम् ॥ २० ॥
- ९०२ शनैर्विद्या शनैरर्थाः शनैः पर्वतमारुहेत् ॥
ज्ञानैः कामं च धर्मं च पञ्चैतानि शनैः शनैः ॥ ४६ ॥

- ९०३ शाश्वतं देवपूजादि विप्रदानं च शाश्वतम् ॥
शाश्वतं सगुणा विद्या सुहृन्मित्रं च शाश्वतम् ॥ ४७ ॥
- ९०४ ये बालभावान्न पठन्ति विद्यां
ये यौवनस्था ह्यधनात्मदाराः ॥
ते शोचनीया इह जीवलोके
मनुष्यरूपेण मृगाश्चरन्ति ॥ ४८ ॥
- ९०५ आकारैरिङ्गितैर्गत्या चेष्टया भाषितेन च ॥
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- ९०६ अनूक्तमप्यूहति पण्डितो जनः
परेङ्गितज्ञानफला हि बुद्धयः ॥
उदीरितोऽर्थः पशुनापि गृह्यते
हयाश्च नागाश्च वहन्ति दर्शितम् ॥ ५३ ॥
- ९०७ अर्थाद्भ्रष्टस्तीर्थयात्रां तु गच्छे-
त्सत्याद्भ्रष्टो रौरवं वै व्रजेच्च ॥
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राज्याद्भ्रष्टो मृगयायां व्रजेच्च ॥ ५४ ॥

Ibid. अ. १०९.

- ९०८ यो ध्रुवाणि परित्यज्य ह्यध्रुवाणि निषेवते ॥
ध्रुवाणि तस्य नश्यन्ति ह्यध्रुवं नष्टमेव च ॥ १ ॥
- ९०९ वाग्यन्महीनस्य (प्रागल्भ्यहीनस्य इ. पा.) नरस्य विद्या
शस्त्रं यथा कापुरुषस्य हस्ते ॥
न तुष्टिमुत्पादयते शरीरे
ह्यन्धस्य दारा इव दर्शनीयाः ॥ २ ॥
- ९१० कुले नियोजयेद्भक्तं पुत्रं विद्यासु योजयेत् ॥
व्यसने योजयेच्छत्रुमिष्टं धर्मे नियोजयेत् ॥ १० ॥
- ९११ [स्थानेऽप्येव प्रयोक्तव्या भृत्याश्चाभरणानि च ॥]
न हि चूडामणिः पादे शोभते वै कदाचन ॥ ११ ॥
- ९१२ चूडामणिः समुद्रोऽग्निर्घण्टा चाखण्डमम्बरम् ॥
अथवा पृथिवीपालो मूर्ध्नि पादे प्रमादतः ॥ १२ ॥
- ९१३ कनकभूषणसंग्रहणोचितो
यदि मणिस्त्रपुणि प्रतिबध्यते ॥
न च विरौति न चापि स शोभते
भवति योजयितुर्ध्वचनीयता ॥ १४ ॥
- ९१४ न सदश्वः कशाघातं सिंहो न गजगर्जितम् ॥
वीरो न परनिर्दिष्टं न सहेद्भीमनिःस्वनम् ॥ १७ ॥

Ibid. अ. ११०.

- ९१५ पुष्पास्पृष्टं विचिन्वीत मूलच्छेदं न कारयेत् ॥
मालाकार इवारण्ये न यथाङ्गारकारकः ॥ ३ ॥
- ९१६ दोग्धारः क्षीरभुञ्जाना विकृतं तन्न भुञ्जते ॥
परराष्ट्रं महीपालैर्भोक्तव्यं न च दूषयेत् ॥ ४ ॥

- ९१७ नोपच्छिन्नात्तु यो धेन्वाः क्षीरार्थी लभते पयः ॥
एवं राष्ट्रं प्रयोगेण पीड्यमानं न वर्द्धते ॥ ५ ॥
- ९१८ ऐश्वर्यमधुवं प्राप्य राजा धर्मे मतिं चरेत् ॥
क्षणेन विभवो नश्येन्नात्मायत्तं धनादिकम् ॥ ८ ॥
- ९१९ व्याघ्रीव तिष्ठति जरा परितर्जयन्ती
रोगाश्च शत्रव इव प्रभवन्ति गात्रे ॥
आयुः परित्यजति भिन्नघटादिवाम्भो
लोको न चात्महितमाचरतीह कश्चित् ॥ १० ॥
- ९२० निःशंकं किं मनुष्याः कुरुत परहितं युक्तमग्रे हितं यत्
मोदध्वं कामिनीभिर्मदनशरहता मन्दमन्दाति इष्ट्या ॥
मा पापं संकुरुध्वं द्विजहरिपरमाः संभजध्वं सदैव
आयुर्निःशेषमेति स्खलति जलघटीभूतमृत्युच्छलेन ॥ ११ ॥
- ९२१ यस्य पुत्राश्च भृत्याश्च मन्त्रिणश्च पुरोहिताः ॥
इन्द्रियाणि प्रसुप्तानि तस्य राज्यं चिरं न हि ॥ २० ॥
- ९२२ येनार्जितास्त्रयोऽप्येते पुत्रा भृत्याश्च वानधवाः ॥
जिता तेन समं भूपैश्चतुरब्धिर्वसुन्धरा ॥ २१ ॥
- ९२३ मनस्तापं न कुर्वीत आपदं प्राप्य पार्थिवः ॥
समबुद्धिः प्रसन्नात्मा सुखदुःखे समो भवेत् ॥ २३ ॥
- ९२४ धीराः कष्टमनुप्राप्य न भवन्ति विषादिनः ॥
प्रविश्य वदनं राहोः किं नोदेति पुनः शशी ॥ २४ ॥
- ९२५ कारणेन विना भृत्ये यस्तु कुप्यति पार्थिवः ॥
स गृह्णाति विषोन्मादं कृष्णसर्पविसर्जितम् ॥ २७ ॥
- ९२६ चापलाद्वारयेद्दृष्टिं मिथ्यावाक्यञ्च वारयेत् ॥
मानवे श्रोत्रिये चैव भृत्यवर्गे सदैव हि ॥ २८ ॥
- ९२७ सुखप्रवृत्तैः साध्यन्ते शत्रवो विग्रहे स्थितैः ॥ ३१ ॥
- ९२८ उद्योगः साहसं धैर्यं बुद्धिः शक्तिः पराक्रमः ॥
षड्विधो यस्य उत्साहस्तस्य देवोऽपि शंकते ॥ ३२ ॥
- ९२९ उद्योगेन कृते कार्ये सिद्धिर्यस्य न विद्यते ॥
दैवं तस्य प्रमाणं हि कर्त्तव्यं पौरुषं सदा ॥ ३३ ॥

Ibid. अ. १११.

- ९३० यथा चतुर्भिः कनकं परीक्ष्यते
निघर्षणच्छेदनतापताडनैः ॥
तथा चतुर्भिर्भूतकं परीक्षयेत्
व्रतेन शीलेन कुलेन कर्मणा ॥ ३ ॥
- ९३१ निरालस्या सुसन्तुष्टाः सुखमाः प्रतिबोधकाः ॥
सुखदुःखसमा धीरा भृत्या लोकेषु दुर्लभाः ॥ १९ ॥
- ९३२ [यत्किञ्चित्कुरुते कर्म शुभं वा यदि वाऽशुभम् ॥
तेन स वर्द्धते राजा सूक्ष्मतो भृत्यकार्यतः ॥ २४ ॥
- ९३३ तस्माद्गुप्तीश्वरः प्राप्तं धर्मकामार्थसाधने ॥
नियोजयेद्दि सततं गोब्राह्मणहिताय वै ॥ २५ ॥

Ibid. अ. १११.

- ९३४ सावशेषाणि कार्याणि कुर्वन्नर्थैश्च युज्यते ॥
तस्मात्सर्वाणि कार्याणि सावशेषाणि कारयेत् ॥ ४ ॥
- ९३५ विप्राणां भूषणं विद्या पृथिव्या भूषणं नृपः ॥
नभसो भूषणं चन्द्रः शीलं सर्वस्य भूषणम् ॥ १३ ॥
- ९३६ सत्यं शौचं मनः शौचं शौचमिन्द्रियनिग्रहः ॥
सर्वभूते दया शौचं जलशौचं च पञ्चमम् ॥ ३८ ॥
- ९३७ यस्य सत्यञ्च शौचञ्च तस्य स्वर्गो न दुर्लभः ॥
सत्यं हि वचनं यस्य सोऽश्वमेधाद्विशिष्यते ॥ ३९ ॥
- ९३८ दरिद्रस्य मनुष्यस्य प्राज्ञस्य मधुरस्य च ॥
काले श्रुत्वा हितं वाक्यं न कश्चित्परितुष्यति ॥ ४३ ॥
- Ibid. अ. ११३.
- ९३९ नात्मच्छिद्रं परे दद्याद्विद्याच्छिद्रं परस्य च ॥
गृहेत्कूर्मं ह्वाङ्गानि परभावञ्च लक्षयेत् ॥ १५ ॥
- ९४० यस्मिन्कस्मिन्कृते कार्ये कर्त्तारमनुवर्त्तते ॥
सर्वथा वर्त्तमानोऽपि धैर्यबुद्धिं तु कारयेत् ॥ २४ ॥
- ९४१ अत्यम्बुपानं कलिनाशनञ्च
धातुक्षयो वेगविधारणञ्च ॥
दिवाशयो जागरणञ्च रात्रौ
षड्विनेराणां निवसन्ति (प्रभवन्ति इ. पा.) रोगाः ॥ २८ ॥
- ९४२ त्रयो बलकराः सद्यो बालाभ्यङ्गसुभोजनम् ॥
त्रयो बलहराः सद्यो ह्यध्वा वै मैथुनं ज्वरः ॥ ३३ ॥
- ९४३ गजाश्वरथधान्यानां गवां चैव रजः शुभम् ॥
अशुभं च विजानीयात्खरोद्वाजाविकेषु च ॥ ४१ ॥
- ९४४ गवां रजो धान्यरजः पुत्रस्यांगभवं रजः ॥
एतद्रजो महाशस्त्रं महापातकनाशनम् ॥ ४२ ॥
- ९४५ अजारजः खररजो यत्तु सन्मार्जनीरजः ॥
एतद्रजो महापापं महाकिल्बिषकारकम् ॥ ४३ ॥
- ९४६ शूर्पवातो नखाग्राम्बु स्नानवस्त्रमृजोदकम् ॥
केशाम्बु मार्जनीरेणुर्हन्ति पुण्यं पुराकृतम् ॥ ४४ ॥
- ९४७ षट्कर्णो भिद्यते मन्त्रश्चतुःकर्णश्च धार्यते ॥
द्विकर्णस्य तु मन्त्रस्य ब्रह्माप्यन्तं न बुद्ध्यते ॥ ५४ ॥
- ९४८ बहूनामल्पसाराणां समवायो हि दारुणः ॥
तृणैरावेष्टिता रज्जुस्तया नागोऽपि बध्यते ॥ ६६ ॥

Ibid. अ. ११४.

शौनकीयनीतिसार

- ९४९ आलापाद्वात्रसंस्पर्शात्संसर्गात्सहभोजनात् ॥
आसनाच्छयनाद्यानात्पापं संक्रमते नृणाम् ॥ ६ ॥
- ९५० आसनादेकशय्यायां भोजनात्पंक्तिसंकरात् ॥
ततः संक्रमते पापं घटाद्वट इवोदकम् ॥ ८ ॥
- ९५१ दाता दरिद्रः कृपणोऽर्थयुक्तः
पुत्रोऽविधेयः कुजनस्य सेवा ॥

- परोपकारेषु नरस्य मृत्युः
प्रजायते दुश्चरितानि पंच ॥ १७ ॥
- ९५२ कुरंगमातंगपतंगभृङ्ग-
मीना हताः पंचभिरेव पंच ॥
एकः प्रमाथी स कथं न घाल्यो
यः सेवते पंचभिरेव पंच ॥ २१ ॥
- ९५३ अधीरः कर्कशः स्तब्धः कुचेलः स्वयमागतः ॥
पंच विप्रा न पूज्यन्ते बृहस्पतिसमा अपि ॥
- ९५४ आयुः कर्म च वित्तं च विद्या निधनमेव च ॥
पञ्चैतानि विविच्यन्ते जायमानस्य देहिनः ॥ २३ ॥
- ९५५ पर्वतारोहणे तोये गोकुले दुष्टनिग्रहे ॥
पतितस्य समुत्थाने शस्ताः पंच (ब्रूते) गुणाः स्मृताः ॥ २४ ॥
- ९५६ अभ्रच्छाया तृणादग्निर्नीचसेवा पथो जलम् ॥
वेद्यारागः खले प्रीतिः षडेते बुद्बुदोपमाः ॥ ३९ ॥
- ९५७ अबलस्य बलं राजा बलस्य रुदितं बलम् ॥
बलं मूर्खस्य मौनं हि तस्करस्यानृतं बलम् ॥ ४१ ॥
- ९५८ यथा यथा हि पुरुषः कल्याणे कुरुते मतिम् ॥
तथा तथा हि सर्वत्र श्लिष्यते लोकसुप्रियः ॥ ४३ ॥
- ९५९ लोभप्रमादविश्वासैः पुरुषो नश्यति त्रिभिः ॥
तस्माल्लोभो न कर्तव्यः प्रमादो नो न विश्वसेत् ॥ ४४ ॥
- ९६० तावद्भयस्य भेतव्यं यावद्भयमनागतम् ॥
उत्पन्ने तु भये तीव्रे स्थातव्यं वै ह्यभीतवत् ॥ ४५ ॥
- ९६१ ऋणशेषं चामिशेषं व्याधिशेषं तथैव च ॥
पुनः पुनः प्रवर्द्धन्ते तस्माच्छेषं न कारयेत् ॥ ४६ ॥
- ९६२ कृते प्रतिकृतं कुर्याद्विसिते प्रतिहिंसितम् ॥
न तत्र दोषं पश्यामि दुष्टे दोषं समाचरेत् ॥ ४७ ॥
- ९६३ स भुंक्ते स द्विजो भुंक्ते समशेषनिरूपणम् ॥
तस्मात्सर्वप्रयत्नेन द्विजः पूज्यः प्रयत्नतः ॥ ५० ॥
- ९६४ ब्राह्मणोऽपि मनुष्याणामादित्यश्चैव तेजसाम् ॥
शिरोऽपि सर्वगात्राणां व्रतानां सत्यमुत्तमम् ॥ ५३ ॥
- ९६५ तन्मंगलं यत्र मनः प्रसन्नं
तज्जीवनं यन्न परस्य सेवा ।
तद्वर्जितं यस्वजनेन भुक्तं
तद्वर्जितं यस्समरे रिपूणाम् ॥ ५४ ॥
- ९६६ नदीनामग्निहोत्राणां भारतस्य कुलस्य च ॥
मूलान्वेषो न कर्तव्यो मूलाहोषो न हीयते ॥ ५७ ॥
- ९६७ राज्यश्रीर्ब्रह्मशापान्ता पापान्तं ब्रह्मवर्चसम् ॥
आचान्तं घोषवासान्तं कुलस्यान्तं स्त्रिया प्रभो (भुः इ. पा.) ॥ ५९ ॥
- ९६८ सर्वे क्षयान्ता निलयाः पतनान्तास्समुच्छ्रयाः ॥
संयोगा विप्रयोगान्ता मरणान्तं हि जीवितम् ॥ ६० ॥

- ९६९ यदीच्छेत्पुनरागन्तुं नातिदूरमनुवजेत् ॥
उदकान्ताग्निवर्तेत स्निग्धवर्णाच्च पादपात् ॥ ६१ ॥
- ९७० अनायके न वस्तव्यं न चैव बहुनायके ॥
स्त्रीनायके न वस्तव्यं वस्तव्यं बालनायके ॥ ६२ ॥
- ९७१ अम्भसः परिमाणेन उन्नतं कमलं भवेत् ॥
स्वस्वामिना बलवता भृत्यो भवति गर्वितः ॥ ७० ॥
- ९७२ स्थानस्थितस्य पद्मस्य मित्रे वरुणभास्करी ॥
स्थानच्युतस्य तस्यैव ह्येदशोषणकारकौ ॥ ७१ ॥
- ९७३ ये पदस्थस्य मित्राणि ते तस्य रिपुतां गताः ॥
भानोः पद्मे जले प्रीतिः स्थलोद्धरणशोषणः ॥ ७२ ॥
- ९७४ स्थानस्थितानि पूज्यन्ते पूज्यन्ते च पदे स्थिताः ॥
स्थानभ्रष्टा न पूज्यन्ते केशा दन्ता नखा नराः ॥ ७३ ॥
- ९७५ आचारः कुलमाख्याति देशमाख्याति भाषितम् ॥
सम्भ्रमः स्नेहमाख्याति वपुराख्याति भोजनम् ॥ ७४ ॥
- ९७६ वृथा वृष्टिः समुद्रस्य वृथा तृप्तस्य भोजनम् ॥
वृथा दानं समृद्धस्य नीचस्य सुकृतं वृथा ॥ ७५ ॥
- ९७७ दूरस्थोऽपि समीपस्थो यो यस्य हृदये स्थितः ॥
हृदयादपि निष्क्रान्तः समीपस्थोऽपि दूरतः ॥ ७६ ॥

Ibid. अ. ११५.

- ९७८ न प्रविश्य वनं कश्चिन्नृपः ख्यातोऽस्ति भूतले ॥
निखिलं यस्तिरस्कृत्य सुखं तिष्ठति निर्भयः ॥ १६५ ॥

पद्म. भूमिखंड. अ. ६६.

- ९७९ परेषां प्राणयान्नाथं तत्कर्तुं युज्यते शुभाः ॥
आरामप्राणहितार्थाय न साधूनां प्रशस्यते ॥ ४२ ॥

स्कांद. नागरखंड. अ. ५१.

बृहस्पतिनीतिसार

- ९८० न सद्दश्वः कशाघातं सिंहो न गजगर्जितम् ॥
वीरो वा परनिर्दिष्टं न सहेन्नीमनिःस्वनम् ॥ १७ ॥

गरुड. op. cit., अ. ११०.

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INDIA AS DESCRIBED BY MEDIAEVAL EUROPEAN TRAVELLERS

4. FABULOUS AND IMAGINARY STORIES¹

By Dr. Ludwik Sternbach

I.

1. Beginning from Alexander the Great and his historians or even earlier, through Archbishop Epiphanius, Cosmas Indicopleustes up to Marco Polo, Friar Odoric, John de Monte Corvino, Friar Jordanus, John Marignolli, John de Mandeville, Nicolò Conti and Athanasius Nikitin many fabulous stories were told in Europe about various regions of the world, and, in particular, about India. St. Augustinus in his book "*De Civitate Dei*" mentions also some non-existing monsters living in various parts of the world and with the extending trade with India, by land-route, these fairy-like tales about India became more and more popular to Mediaeval Europe, in particular, in the early centuries of the Middle Ages.

Marco Polo, who visited only some parts of India, recounts some stories about India and, obviously, is not concerned with their veracity. He mentions them in his book non-critically. Also non-critical are the stories told by Nicolò Conti and Athanasius Nikitin.

The nature of John Mandeville's works as well, required that his narrative is fabulous, imaginary, fantastic and fairy-like. Although he mentions only one story, it is described as required for his mediaeval European readers.

However, John of Monte Corvino (whose opinions are known from the letters of the Dominican Friar Menentillus of Spoleto to Friar Bartolomeo de Santo Concordio) and Friar Odoric de Pordenone are already more critical. In the letter of Friar Menentillus we find a passage that "as regards men of a marvellous kind, to wit, men of a different make from

1 For No 1. "Jewish Dwelling Places" see "Bhāratiya Vidyā", Vol. VII. Nos. 1-2, 1946., for No. 2. "Some Curious Funerary Ceremonies" See Supplement to Bhāratiya Vidyā," Vol. VII., Nos. 5-6, 1946., for "No. 3. "Additional Notes on Horses in Western India" See "Supplement to Bhāratiya Vidyā", Vol. VII., Nos. 5-6, 1946; in these papers the text and bibliography are quoted.

I took into consideration in this paper the itinerary of later mediaeval European travellers and not the early mediaeval European traveller in particular, Cosmas Indicopleustes. Also almost all the books of antiquity, relating to India, contain many fabulous and imaginary stories.

the rest of us, and regard animals of like description, and as regards the Terrestrial Paradise, much have I asked and thought, but nothing have I been able to discover."

Friar Odoric also states that he was told only about the stories he narrates.

The most critical is the narrative of John de Marignolli in which he puts an end to the fabulous stories narrated in mediaeval Europe about India, saying that these stories are "lies" and should they really happen in India, they would be sporadic cases only, similar to those which happen in Europe. Similarly, a story is related of a girl-monster from Tuscany, whose face and whole body was covered with hair; some monsters could be found in India too, but these cases could not be generalised and it cannot be admitted that such monsters are living in India. Even some "monsters", John de Marignolli states, were "invented" as, for instance, people with one foot with which they use to shade themselves, already known in antiquity. He explained that "as all the Indians commonly go naked, they are in the habit of carrying a thing like a little tent-roof on a cane handle, which they open out at will as a protection against sun or rain. This they call a *chatyr*." To show that this very old story is a lie, he brought to Florence such a *chatyr*, "which the poets have converted into a foot."

John de Marignolli's statements were revolutionary to mediaeval Europe and from this time on, the fabulous stories about India were read by the mediaeval intelligentsia with much criticism and diffidence.

2. It should be noted that all the other narratives with the exception of that of John de Mandeville, were not complete inventions of those travellers. These stories as, for instance, the story of the diamond-mines, were beautiful and well-known tales probably taken from the "Arabian Nights," but placed in India; others were also common stories, which the travellers ascribed to India; others were descriptions of certain animals or plants, unknown to the travellers, but existing in India.

Very often these descriptions were exaggerated and this exaggeration became the basis for considering them untrue and fabulous.

II.

The Diamond Mines.

3. One of the best-known stories about India (told by Marco Polo and Nicolò Conti) was the story of the diamond mines in Golconda.

This story was already known in the 4th century A. D. and was narrated by St. Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis & Cyprus. We find it also in Edrisi's and Kazwini's works, in the "Arabian Nights," as a popular story of the Persians, also known by the Chinese (Si Schi Ni-of Ch'ang Te, Chinese Envoy to Haluba) etc., etc.¹ Marco Polo and Nicolò Conti ascribed it to

1 For details see H. Yule's "The Book of Ser Marco Polo".

India. Probably, this story was told to both these travellers and as diamond mines really existed in Golconda, they narrate this story in such a way that it can be supposed that they really saw these mines, or believed in the story told to them. In reality we know that neither Marco Polo nor Nicolò Conti could have visited those regions.

4. It is very interesting to state that the story of the diamond mines is told differently in various MSS. of Marco Polo and Nicolò Conti. In one of Marco Polo's MSS. it is even stated that the whole story was told to him by somebody.

5A. In Marco Polo's Latin Codex in the Cathedral Library at Toledo we find the following text relating to this tale :

"Sunt enim in isto regno (i. e. Mutfili) multi montes in quibus inueniuntur adamantes quia quando pluit aqua descendit de istis montibus multum ruinoso per magnos riuos & cauernas & cum cessauit pluuia & discesit aqua homines uadut. scrutando per istos riuos per quos discurit aqua & inueniunt multos ex istis & in estato quando non inuenitur de aqua inueniuntur multi per illos montes ibi est tam intensus calor quod uix aliquis posset sufferere & in illis montibus est tanta multitudo serpentum magnorum & grosorum quod homine non possunt scire magno dubio (should be: quod homines non possunt sine magno dubio) accedere illuc set tamen uadunt qualiter possunt & inueniunt de bonis & grosis isti quidem serpentes sunt multum uenenosi & mali ita quod homines non audent accedere ad cauernas in quibus conuersantur illi magnis serpentes habent insuper adamantes per unum alium modum nam ibi sunt magne uales & profundae ita ruinosae a summatibus montium quod nemo illuc accedere potest set homines faciunt quemadmodum dicemus uobis nam accipiunt multa frustra ca(r)num intincta in sanguine & proiciunt in uales illas profundas & ille carnes quando sunt proiecto inueniunt adamantes multos qui se figunt in ipsis. & in illis montibus conuersantur multe aquile albe causa capiendi predictos serpentes & quando uident carnes in profundum ualium uolantes illuc ipsas rapiunt & asportant ad alium locum. & tunc homines inspiciunt ubi se ponunt & dimitunt carnes comedere & cum comederint adamantes ibi remanent & aliquos aquile degluciant tunc uadunt illuc & adamantes recolligunt & postmodum sciunt loca ubi de nocte manent quia aquile ipsos adamantes non digerunt set de nocte cum digestionem enomunt & in mane homines ipsos inueniunt. audistis ergo qualiter tribus modis inueniuntur adamantes. & etiam multis alijs modis inueniuntur & in toto alio mundo non inueniuntur adamantes nisi in hoc regno.....".

[In this kingdom (i. e. Mutfili¹) there are many (very great²) mountains in which the (precious stones³) diamonds are found, when rains fall, the water runs down the mountain in great torrents (making great noise⁴) through

1 Latin MS. BN. Lat. 3195 in Paris.

2 French MS. BN. fr. 5649 in Paris.

3 Latin MS. BM. Reg. 14 C. III. in London.

4 Same MS. as sub 4.

great ravines and caverns, (and washes the diamonds down from the mountains¹), and when the rain is stopped and the water is gone the men go on their search (among the sands²) though these³ ravines by which the water has come, and find many of them, and (it was told the foresaid master Marc that⁴) (in summer when one drop of water would not be found there, then they⁴) (climb up with great labour and⁵) find plenty of them (through those mountains.⁶) (And such men as these who fish for diamonds, dwell at the foot of the mountain with some of their cabins⁷) through those mountains, and there is so great heat there (because of the sun⁸) that one can hardly bear it and in these mountains there is so great a multitude of serpents both large and stout, (& of venomous vermin⁹) (on account of the heat¹⁰) that (it is a great wonder &¹¹) the men cannot go but with (great peril, & they have¹²) great fear (and they are often devoured by those vermin.¹³) However, they go there as they can and find some good and large one, these serpents are very poisonous and very evil so that the men have not courage to go to the caves where the evil great serpents are, (which seem that they dwell there to guard those diamonds, that they should not be taken¹⁴). (The men) get diamonds from them in another way. There are great valleys there and (so¹⁵) deep (to step around the rocks¹⁶) from the peaks of the mountains that none can go there (down to the bottom, in which bottom are many diamonds.¹⁷) But the men (who go there for the diamonds¹⁸) take several pieces of flesh dipped in blood (the leanest which they can have¹⁹) and (standing above the caves²⁰), and throw them into those deep valleys, and that flesh, when it is thrown finds the diamonds, many of them fix themselves into the flesh, and many white eagles

1 MS. G.

2 Same MS. as *sub* 5.

3 Italian MS. in Ramusio's *Delle Navigazioni e Viaggi*".

4 French MS. BN. fr. 1116 in Paris

5 Same MS. as *sub* 9.

6 Same MS. as *sub* 10.

7 Venetian MS. BM. Sloane 251 in London.

8 Same MS. as *sub* 4.

9 Same MS. as *sub* 13.

10 Same MS. as *sub* 4.

11 Same MS. as *sub* 4.

12 Same MS. as *sub* 4.

13 Same MS. as *sub* 4.

14 Venetian MS. B. Gov. 296 in Lucca.

15 Venetian MS. B. Civ. C. N. 211 in Padua.

16 Same MS. as *sub* 10.

17 Same MS. as *sub* 21.

18 Same MS. as *sub* 4.

19 Same MS. as *sub* 4.

20 Same MS. as *sub* 9.

(and white storks¹) dwell in those mountains to catch those serpents (and feed on them²). And when (these eagles³) (and storks⁴) (perceive the scent &⁵) see the flesh in the depths of the valley they go off flying thither and take that flesh and (either eat it there, or⁶) carry it (with their feet⁷) into another place (on some rock⁸) (on the brink of these valleys⁹) (and fly up on to the trees to eat it¹⁰), and then the men watch carefully where the eagles go and put the flesh in order to devour it; and as they eat the diamonds remain there (as soon as they see that the eagles are swallowing the flesh they go there as soon as they can¹¹) (and go under the tree shouting with great noise so that¹²) (the eagles¹³) (let the flesh drop and¹⁴) (go off to another place and do not take away the flesh for the fear which they have of the men who come upon them suddenly below. And when one is come to the flesh then he takes it and finds diamonds enough fixed thereon¹⁵) (when the eagle is tearing the flesh they stand watching if any diamonds fall¹⁶) (¹⁷.) Some are swallowed by the eagles and then they go and collect the diamonds, then the men know the places where they stay at night, for the eagles do not digest diamonds (and again the men have diamonds from them in this way. For when the eagles eat of that flesh of which I have told you¹⁸) (they go sometimes by chance to a place where no one can drive them away, and¹⁹) they eat, that is (to say that they swallow, some diamonds²⁰), but at night (the eagles) cast them with their dung. (Then

1 Same MS. as *sub* 9.

2 French MS. BN. fr. 5631 in Paris.

3 Same MS. as *sub* 10.

4 Same MS. as *sub* 10.

5 Same MS. as *sub* 3.

6 Same MS. as *sub* 5.

7 Same MS. as *sub* 4.

8 Same MS. as *sub* 4.

9 Tuscan MS. BN. II, IV 83 (434), in Florence (Paris).

10 Same MS. as *sub* 13.

11 Same MS. as *sub* 10.

12 Same MS. as *sub* 13.

13 Same MS. as *sub* 10.

14 Same MS. as *sub* 13.

15 Same MS. as *sub* 10.

16 Same MS. as *sub* 13.

17 In the French MS. BN. fr. 5631 in Paris it is stated in short:

"And know well that there are so many of them in these deep valleys that it is marvellous; but one cannot go down there, and on the other hand there are so many serpents down there, that he who should go down there would be devoured immediately".

18 Same MS. as *sub* 10.

19 Same MS. as *sub* 21.

20 Same MS. as *sub* 10.

at night where the eagle makes his return he casts those diamonds which he swallowed with his dung¹) and the men go there in the morning and carry away (that dung of the eagle and find there also diamonds enough²). (And when they can catch any of the eagles they kill them and find some in their bellies.³) You have heard how diamonds are found in three ways and they are also found in many other ways. The diamonds are not found in all the rest of the world but in this kingdom only.....]”.

B. Nicolò Conti⁴ states :

Oltra la città di Bisinagar per quindici giornate di cammino verso la parte di Settenrione, gli fu detto esservi un monte detto Abnigaro circondato tutto da lagune piene de bestie uelenole, & il monte di serpi, nel quale si ritrovano i diamanti, & non si potendo per questo rispetto accostarsi persona, l' astutia de gli huomini ui ha trouato rimedio, che è che essendo un'altro monte piu alto, vicino à questo, in certo tempo dell'anno gli huomini del paese pigliano de boui, i quali fatti in pezzi cosi caldi & pieni di sangue con le balestre fatte à questo effetto, buttano sopra quel monte di diamanti, doue cadendo in terra se gli attaccano di detti diamanti, & quando l' Aquile, & Auoltore, che ui passano ueggano la carne, si calano ad essa, & la portano ad un'altro monte, oue sicuri da i serpi, se la possono mangiare, & di poi gli huomini che ui stanno à far la guardia, riuengono i loughi ne i quali detti uccelli hanno mangiata la carne, se ne uanno à pigliare i diamanti che cadettero da quella. L' altre pietre pretiose si trouano con manco difficultà, perche appresso i monti arenosi in certi luoghi, doue fanno di trouarli, cauano tanto sotto, fin che trouano l'acqua mescolata con l'arena, la quale gittano in un criuello fatto à posta & lauano quell' arena con l'acqua, & colandosi l'arena restano le pietre & questo è il modo di cauare & trouare le pietre pretiose in quelle parti, secondo che gli fu narrato & ui tengono gran guardie i signori, cosi per coloro, che le cauano, come per li soprastanti, che non le ruobino, & gli fanno cercar fino nelli uestimenti, & per tutta la persona, & sforcano con tutti i modi di non esser rubbati.

[At fifteen days' journey beyond Bisenegalia towards the north, there is a mountain called Abenigaro completely surrounded by pools of water full of venomous animals, and the mountain of serpents in which diamonds are found, and because of that, not having been able to find any mode of approaching, the ingenuity of men, has discovered the following way (of getting the diamonds:) There is another mountain near it, a little higher (.) At a certain period of the year, men bring oxen which they cut into pieces, and then cast the warm and bleeding pieces upon the other mountain with diamonds by means of machines constructed for that purpose

1 Same MS. as *sub* 10.

2 Same MS. as *sub* 10.

3 Same MS. as *sub* 4.

4 As quoted in Ramusio's *Delle Navigazioni e Viaggi*.

(.) When cast there, the diamonds stick on them, and when eagles and vultures flying there see the meat, seize it and take it on another mountain which is safe from the serpents and where they can eat it. The men, who were on guard, return to these places in which the birds eat the meat and collect the diamonds which have fallen from the flesh. Other precious stones are procured with less difficulty, because in some places near the sandy mountains, where they hope to find them, they dig holes, and continue their excavations until they come to sand mixed with water, which they throw on sieves made for that purpose, and wash this sand with water (.) The sand passes away through the sieve, and the stones are left behind, and this mode of digging for precious stones of this description prevails universally in these regions. Great care is exercised by the masters to prevent theft by those who dig and overseers being appointed, not only control their clothes, but even examine every part of their person.]

6. From these texts it is evident that according to these fabulous tales not only three, but more legendary modes existed, in order to attain the famous diamonds of the Golconda-mines, called either Mutfli or Abnigaro (or, according to other versions, Alibunigas).¹

1° In the *rainy* season the diamonds, which are in high mountains, are washed down by water flowing down and can be found in its streams.

2° In the *hot* season, the valley is full of serpents and venomous vermins, and men go with great fear to the valleys where they can find diamonds, but are often devoured and die.

3° Those who are then *afraid* to go to the valley take oxen, kill them and cut their flesh into smaller pieces and throw these pieces into the valleys full of diamonds. The diamonds stick to the flesh and white eagles, or storks or vultures, flying over the valley, if seeing the flesh, take it in order to eat it, and thus bring from the deep valleys the diamonds on the high rocks, which can be gained by the men in two ways :

(A). if the birds did not swallow the flesh, the men shout and drive away the birds from the flesh with diamonds,

(B). if the birds did already swallow the flesh either :

(a). the birds are killed and diamonds are found in their bellies, or

(b). the diamonds are found in their dung as they cannot be digested by the birds.

4° By digging and passing sand with diamonds through a sieve.²

¹ In Poggio Bracciolini's treatise *De Varietate Fortunae, libri quatuor*, ed. by the Abbé Oliva, Paris 1723.

² This way, according to Nicolò Conti does not apply to diamonds but some other precious stones.

This imaginary and fantastic story of the collecting of diamonds was very well-known in mediaeval Europe.

III.

Imaginary Animals and their Customs.

7. Nicolò Conti, Marco Polo and Athanasius Nikitin also narrate about imaginary animals and their customs. Sometimes they actually met the animals they describe, though they exaggerate in their narratives, or are so stupefied with their peculiarities that it would seem that their stories are untrue.

8. Completely imaginary is the story of *winged serpents* with seven heads, or of the bird which rises from the ashes. This last story, is the well-known story of the Phoenix called by Nicolò Conti "Semenda", which rises immediately after his death from the ashes; this story is ascribed by Nicolò Conti to Interior India.

Nicolò Conti states :

"Euri in questo medesimo paese, vn'altra sorte di serpenti spaučteno li, lunghi vn braccio, che ha l'ali a similitudine di quelle della nottola ha sette testa disposte per ordine vna d'ricto all'altra lungo il corpo, & quelli che stanno su per gli arbori sono nel volar velocissimi, & sono più volenosi di tutti gli altri, perche col fiato solo ammazzono gli huomini".

[This region (*i. e.* Melebaria) also produces other serpents of a remarkable form, one elbow in length with wings like bats, they have seven heads arranged along the body, and live in trees, they are extremely rapid in flight, and the most venomous of all, destroying men by their men by their breath alone.]

It might be that Nicolò Conti confused the images of Viṣṇu and his *nāga* with some fantastic stories told to him and the *Galeopithecus* described by him in the following words :

"Trouanti anchora...animali simili a gatti seluatici, che volano, & hanno vna pellicina distesa da i piedi dauanti a quei di dietro, la quale sta raccolta in sequando si posano, & come vogliono volare dibuttono i piedi dauanti in vece d'ali, & così se ne vanno da vn'arbore all'altro. li cacciatori quando vogliono pigliar questi animali, gli seguitano sin'd tanto che gli straccano, & strachi cascano a terra, & restano presi".

[There are also animals similar to wild cats, which fly and have pellicle extending from the fore to the hinder feet and attached to the body, which is drawn up when they are at rest, and if they want to fly they flutter with their feet instead of wings and in such a way go from one tree to another. The hunters, if they want to catch these animals, follow them until they are so tired that they fall down on the earth and then are taken by them.]

Nicolò Conti could really see these "flying cats" (the *galeopithecus*) and this, strange, flying, mammal, probably impressed him greatly.

9. The *phoenix* rising from the ashes is described by Nicolò Conti in the following words :

"ne gli ultimi confini dell' India interiore si trouava vn ucello solo chiamato Semenda, il qual ha' becco fatto á modo di tre flauti picciolini... & quando viene il tempo della sua morte porta nel suo nido molti legnetti piccoli, sopra li quali ponendosi con la melodia di questi flauti del becco canta così soauemente, che porge mira bil diletto á chi l'ode dipoi battendo fortemente l'ali accende'l fuoco, dal qual si lascia bruciare, & della sua cenere fra poco tempo si crea vn verne, dal qual rinasce poi detto ucello. gli habitatori di quest luogo á imitatione della maniera ch'è fatto questo becco, hanno composto vno instrumento da sonare, che è molto dolce & soauo, del suono del quale instrumento, testando datto Nicolò stupenfutto, gli fu narrato per alcuni Indiani quanto è sopra detto del detto ucello, dal quale e cauta l'inuentione di questo instrumento."

[On the boundaries of India Interior there is an unique bird called Semenda, it has a beak made in the form of three small pipes, and when his death approaches, this bird collects a quantity of drywood and, sitting upon it sings so sweetly with all the pipes of his beak that it attracts and soothes the hearers to a marvellous degree, then igniting the wood by flapping its wings, it allows itself to be burnt to death, and in a short time a worm is produced from the ashes, and from this worm the same kind of bird is again produced. The inhabitants have made a pipe of admirable sweetness for singing, in imitation of the bill of this bird, and as Nicolò admired it very much, they told him the origin of it in the manner in which I have narrated it.]

From this last paragraph it is evident that Nicolò Conti narrates only a story told him by Indians during his stay there. He does not even say that he has seen the phoenix.

10. Athanasius Nikitin also mentions another legendary bird, which he calls "*gookook*", probably the Cuckoo, as he says that it flies at night and cries "*gookook*". He adds to the description of this bird a story (even known in contemporary Europe) that if it lights upon any roof, someone in that house will die, and whoever attempts to kill it, will see fire flashing from its beak.

11. Also a fabulous *bird* is described by Friar Odoric who writes about a bird as big as a goose which has *two heads*. It is the horn-bill (a bird with two beaks and two heads), of which there are various species having casques or protuberances on the top of the bill, the function of which does not appear to be ascertained. The horn-bill is also described by other travellers.

In 1672 Vincenzo Mario describes a bird also as big as a goose, but with two beaks, the two being perfectly distinct, one going up and the other down; with the upper one he crows or croaks, with the lower he feeds.

In 1796 Padre Paolino calls the bird "as big as an ostrich". According to him, this bird, living on high mountains, where water is cast, has a

second beak as a reservoir for a supply of water. He says that the Portuguese call it *passar° di duos bicos*.¹

12. The unicorns, fabulous animals very often described in mediaeval times, who were thought to live in India, are only mentioned once by Marco Polo in the chapter of Gujarat in the following way :

"In isto regno aptatur magna quantitas pelium videlicet de yrcis buffallis bobus silnestribus & unicornibus & de multis alijs bestis".

[They dress in this country great numbers of skins, namely goat-skins, buffalo and wild ox-skins, as well as those of unicorns and many other animals.]

13. Similarly are also described by Nicolò Conti *buoi seluaticchi, che hanno i crini di caualle, ma più lunghi, & hanno le corna sì lunghe, che piegando un poco la testa adietro, toccano cō esse la coda, & per la lor grandezza, usano gli habitanti queste corna in luogo di vasi per portar acqua, ouero altre cose da bere per cammino.*

[Wild cattle are found in great abundance, with manes like those of horses, but longer, and with horns as long that when the head is turned back they touch the tail. These horns being extremely large are used like barrels for carrying water on journeys.]

This is probably an exaggerated description of buffaloes.

14. Also exaggerated and untrue, but common in mediaeval times, was the story of *monkeys* told by Athanasius Nikitin. He states that monkeys live in the woods and have their monkey *kniaz* ("chief" in Russian) who is attended by a host of armed followers. When any of them is caught they complain to their *kniaz*, and an army is sent after the missing one ; and when they come to a town they pull down the houses and beat the people ; and their armies, it is said, are many. They speak their own tongues and bring forth a great many children and, when a child is unlike its father or its mother, it is thrown out on the high road. Thus they are often caught by the Hindus, who teach them every sort of handicraft, or sell them at night, that they may not find their way home, or teach them dancing.²

Some details of this story, in particular, the last paragraph was true and was preserved by Nicolò Conti, as it can be observed even to-day. The story of the army of monkeys was probably told to Athanasius Nikitin in connection with the contents of the *Rāmāyana*.

15. Probably true also is Nicolò Conti's story regarding the *fishes* found in Ceylon. He states that "there is a river in anterior India, in the island of Ceylon, called Arotani, in which fishes are so abundant that

1 H. Yule's "Cathay and the Way Thither" *ad* § 25.

2 According to Count Wielhorsky's translation in R. H. Major's "India in the Fifteenth Century".

they can be taken by the hand. But if anyone holds the captured fish for a short time in his hand, he is forthwith attacked by fever. On disposing of the fish, his health returns to him. "Even the contemporaries of Nicolò Conti found this story true and explained, as it is stated by Poggio Bracciolini that "the cause or this phenomenon is referred by the natives to a certain legend, which Nicolò related to me, respecting their gods. But it appears to me that the cause is natural for, among ourselves, if anyone hold in his hand the fish called the torpedo, he is immediately benumbed, and his hand is affected by a particular kind of pain."

This story, undoubtedly, relates to electric fishes.

16. It should be noted that Friar Odoric, speaking also on Ceylon narrates an imaginary story that "in this island there be sundry kinds of animals, both of birds and other creatures; and the Ceylon country folk say that the wild beasts never hurt a foreigner, but only those who are natives of the island."

IV.

Imaginary Trees and Plants.

17. Imaginary trees are mentioned by Friar Odoric, who frankly declares that he has not seen them with his own eyes, but was only told by some people about their existence. Here again some of the trees described by Friar Odoric really existed and are still existing in India, but were described in an exaggerated or inaccurate form (as e. g. the *chabassi*), some others were descriptions of non-existing plants, but the story of which was widely spoken of by other nations (as, e. g. the trees which bear men and women also mentioned by many Arab geographers as growing on the island of Wak-Wak).

18. And so we read in the old Italian MS. in the Bibliotheca Palatina at Florence: "*In questa terra sono alberi che conducono (producono?) mele ed è del buono mondo. Sonvi altri alberi che producono vino ed alberi che producono lana di che si fa tutto corde e funi, e sonvi alberi che producono frutti che di due sarebbe carico un forte uomo, e quando si vengono a manicare conviene che altri s'unga le mani e la bocca, e sono odorifili e molto saporiti e chiamansi frutto chagassi. Quivi udi dire che sono alberi che producono uomini e femmine a modo di frutti, e sono di grandezza un gomito, esono fitti nell'albore insino al bellico, e così istanno; e quando trae vento e sono freschi, e quando non, pare che si seccano. Questo non vidi io, ma udilo dire a persone che l'avevano veduto*".

[In this land there are trees that produce honey, as good as in the world. There are also others that produce wine, and others that produce wool from which all kinds of cords and cables are made, and there are trees which produce fruits so big that two will be a load for a strong man, and when they come to be eaten "*conviene che altri s'unga le mani e la bocca*" (?)]

and they are odoriferous and very delicious—and are called fruit *chabassi*. And here I heard tell that there are trees which produce men and women like fruit. In measurement they are about one elbow, and are fixed in the tree up to the naval, and there they are, and when the wind blows they are fresh, but when it does not blow they are all dried up. This I did not see with my own eyes, but was told by people who have seen it].

19. The trees which produce honey are probably the mangoes; those which produce wine, probably, some species of palm-trees (*palmyra*) from which some intoxicating beverages were prepared; the trees that produce wool are coco-nut palms, rather than cotton-trees, as Friar Odoric states that cords and cables are prepared of them; and the tree with big fruit, called *chabassi* is, probably, the jack-fruit (*artocarpus integrifolia*). The tree bearing men and women is, certainly, a legendary tree.

V.

Human Monsters.

20. Mediaeval Europe was full of tales of human monsters living throughout the whole world and, in particular, in India. However, some bright travellers who described oriental countries could already understand and even explain to their countrymen that some fantastic descriptions of people living in foreign countries are untrue, or are descriptions of sporadic phenomena of nature which cannot be generalised and happen to take place in all the countries of the world. To those travellers who visited India belongs John de Marignolli.

21. Marco Polo, who belongs to the group of non-critical travellers, as far as marvels are concerned, speaks similarly of many other travellers who visited the Nicobar Islands, on the East-coast of India, that the Nicobarians have *faces like dogs*. He states:

"Et vobis de quedam gentis manerie narabimus de qua bene dicendum est noueritis itaque qui omnes homines estis Insule habend capud simile capiti canum & oculos & dentes. Sunt gentes crudeles & omnes homines quod capere posunt comedun dum modo non sint de gente sua."

[We tell you about the customs of these people, you should know that all the people of this island have heads like dogs and teeth and eyes likewise. They are very cruel and use to eat every human being who does not belong to their race].

Also Friar Odoric states in the old Italian MS. in the Bibliotheca Palatina at Florence in chapter LL, entitled "*Dell'Isola di Nichoverra, dove anno gli uomini la testa a modo d'un cane*" [About the Island Nichoverra, where the people are dog-headed] states: "*Nella quale (scil. Isola di Nichoverra) tutti gli uomini anno il capo a modo d'un cane*". [In which i. e., Island of Nichoverra the whole population had heads like dogs.] In the Latin

MS. in the Bibliothèque Imperiale of Friar Odoric it is stated (Chapter XX): "*In qua homines et mulieres facies caninus habent*" [in which both the men and women have faces like dogs.] Also John Marignolli, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and others, mention people with dog-heads. The dog-headed people were already mentioned by Ctesias and it is to be supposed that the origin of this legend can derive from the fact that it was known that the people of the Nicobar Islands were cannibals and as those were represented, with abhorrence, as dog-headed people. This legend of the dog-headed Nicobarians was also mentioned by John Marignolli, who considered it as untrue.

22. Nicolò Conti narrated also to Poggio Bracciolini about some monsters near Cochin and described them in the following way:

"Lasciato de Nicolò la città di Coulom, in tre giorni arriuò alla città di Cochin, che circonda cinque miglia, & è posta sulla bocca del fiume Colchan, dal quale prende il nome, navigando alcuni giorni per detto fiume, vidde di notte sulla riva accender molti fuochi, & pēsando che fussero pescatori, domandò quel che faceuano, quivi tutta notte, i suoi cōpagni cominciado à ridere gli risposero, i cippe, i cippe che sono di forma humana, ò pesci, o mostri che siano, i ouali di notte escono dell'acqua, & accozzando insieme delle legne, peotono vna pietra con l'altra & caudone fuoco accendono gile legna acciò alla riva del fiume, doue i pesci, che vene sono in quālità se ne vègono allo splendor del fuoco & questi li pigliano & mangiano, & di giorno stāno sempre sotto acqua. Di questi se ne sono presi alcuna volta, gli dissero che non sono differenti dalla forma humana, così i maschi come le femine".

[Nicolò having quitted Coulom arrived, after a journey of three days at the city Cochin (Cocym), this city is five miles in circumference, and stands at the mouth of the river Colchan from which it derives its name, sailing for some days in this river during the night he saw many fires lighted along the banks, and thought that they were made by fishermen, he asked what they are doing there during the whole night. His companions began to laugh at him and replied him "*i cippe, i cippe*", that they have the human form, but may be called either fishes or monsters, which, issuing from the water at night, collect wood, and procuring fire by striking one stone against another, ignite it and burn it near the water, the fishes, which are there in great numbers, attracted by the light, swim towards it, when (these monsters), who lie hidden in the water, seize them and devour them. Some which they had taken, both male and female, differed in no respect as to their form from human beings].

In the first lines of Nicolò Conti's narrative it seems that he described some monsters who fish in devilish manner, but in reality this "strange" narrative is only a story of a special mode of fishing and the fishermen cannot be considered as fabulous, non-existing creatures, or the like.

23. John Marignolli, Papal Legate in Asia (1338-1358) bases his statement on St. Augustinus's sixteenth book "*De Civitate Dei*", in which

many monsters, especially living in India, were described, and comes to the conclusion that these stories about human monsters, told in Europe in the early years of the Middle Ages could only relate to exceptional cases and are not common in the whole of India. He states: "Now to say something of the monstrous creatures which histories or romances have limned or lied about, and have represented as existing in India. Such be this that St. Augustine speaks of in the sixteenth book *"De civitate Dei"*—as, for example, that there be some folk who have but one eye in the forehead; some who have their feet turned the wrong way; some alleged to partake of the nature of both sexes, and to have the right breast like a man's, the left breast like a woman's; others who have neither head nor mouth, but only a hole in the breast. Then there are some who are said to subsist only by the breath of their nostril—others a cubit in height who war with cranes. Of some it is told that they live not beyond eight years, but conceive and bear five times. Some have no joints; others lie ever on their backs holding up the sole of only one foot they have to shade them; others again have dog's heads; and then poets have invented hippopotami and plenty of other monsters".

Concerning all these St. Augustine concluded either that they exist not at all, or if they do exist, they have the use of reason, or are capable of it. All men come from Adam, and even if they be natural monstrosities atill they are from Adam. Such monstrosities are indeed born *among ourselves from time to time, and a few also in those regions*; but then they amount to a good many if you take what are born from the whole family of man. Such is the case (as he exemplifies the matter) with the different sorts of hunchbacks, with men who have six fingers, and many others of like character. So the most noble Emperor Charles IV. brought from Tuscany a girl whose face, as well as her whole body was covered with hairs, so that she looked like the daughter of a fox.

Yet is there no such race of hairy folk in Tuscany; nor was her own mother even, nor her mother's other children so, but like the rest of us. Such too was that monster whom we saw in Tuscany, in the district of Florence, in our own time, and which a pretty woman gave birth to. It had two heads perfectly formed, four arms, two busts perfect as far as the naval, but there running into one. There was one imperfect leg sticking out of the tide, and only two legs below, yet it was baptised as two persons. It survived for a week. I saw also at Bologna, when I was lecturing there, an ewe which bore a monstrous lamb of like character, with two heads and seven feet. Yet *we do not suppose that such creatures exist as a species, but regard them natural monstrosities*. So does God choose to show forth his power among men, that we may render thanks to Him that He has not created us with such deformities, and that we may fear Him.

But I, who have traveled in all the regions of the Indians, and have always been most inquisitive, with a mind indeed too often addicted more to curious inquiries than to virtuous acquirements, (for I wanted if possible to

know everything), I have taken more pains, I conceive, than another who is generally read or at least well-known, in investigating the marvels of the world; I have travelled in all the chief countries of the earth, and in particular to places where merchants from all parts come together, such as the Island of Ormes, and yet I never could ascertain as a fact that *such races of men really exist*, whilst the person whom I met use to question in turn where such were to be found. *The truth is that no such people do exist as a nation*, though there many be an *individual monster here and there*. Nor is there any people at all such as has been invented, who have but one foot which they use to shade themselves withal. But as all the Indians commonly go naked, they are in the habit of carrying a thing like a little tent-roof on a cane handle, which they open out at will as a protection against sun or rain. This they call a *chatyr*; I brought one to Florence with me. And this it is which the poets have converted into a foot".¹

24. John de Marignolli also states that he asked in Columbum (Coilon) an old man "who had for two years been sailing about the unexplored seas and islands of the Indies, whether he had seen or even heard anything, of those monsters of which mediaeval Europe knew, but he knew nothing whatever about them" and concludes: "giants do exist, undoubtedly, and I have seen one so tall that my head did not reach above his girdle; he had a hideous and disgusting countenance. There are also wild men naked and hairy, who have wives and children, but abide in the woods. They do not show themselves among men, and I was seldom able to catch sight of one; for they hide themselves in the forest when they perceive anyone coming. Yet they do a great deal of work, sowing and reaping corn and other things and when traders go to them, as I have myself witnessed, they put out what they have to sell in the middle of the path, and run and hide, then the purchasers go forward and deposit the price, and take what has been set down"².

This story probably relates to some aborigines who lived in the jungle, or to the Veddahs of Ceylon and also must be considered as a generalisation.

VI.

Other Fabulous Phenomena.

25. The greatest plagiarist of the Middle Ages, Sir John de Mandeville, describes an imaginary lake near Colombe (Quilon) in the following words :

"Also toward the heed of that Forest, is the Cytee of Polombe. And above the Cytee is a great Montayne, that also is clept Polombe; and of that Mount, the Cytee hathe his name. And at the Foot of that Mount, is a fayr welle and a gret, that hathe odour and savour of all Speeces; and at every hour of the

1 According to H. Yule's translation in *Cathay and the Way Thither*.

2 See note 55.

day, he chaun gethe his colour and his savour dyversely. And whose drynkethe 3 tymes fasting of that Watre of that Welle, he is hool of alle maner sykenesse, that he hathe. And thei that duellen there and drynken often of that Welle, thei nevere Skenesse, and thei semen alle weys zonge. I have dronken there of 3 or 4 sithes; and zit, methinkethe, I fare the better. Sum men clepen it the Welle of Zouthen; for thei that often drynken there of, semen alle weys Zongly, and hyven with outen Sykenesse. And men seyn, that that Welle comethe out of Paradys: and therfore it is so vertuous."

This is a typical legendary story destined for the mediaeval readers who were looking for an elixir of longevity and believe in some medicines, formulas, waters, etc., which can give longevity, and eternal health or youth.

26. Another fabulous lake lying between the Indus and the Ganges, the water of which possessed "a remarkable flavour and is drunk with great pleasure" is mentioned by Nicolò Conti.¹

VII.

27. I do not try here to give a critical explanation of the fabulous tales narrated by mediaeval travellers who visited India, I want only to gather the most important and most interesting ones, not going into details of their origin, only to show how often fabulous, imaginary, legendary, etc., and, sometimes contradictory, were the notions about India in mediaeval times, as told by European travellers who visited India.

1 "Trail fiume Indo & Gange, vi è vn lago l'acqua del quale è di merauiglioso sapore, & beuesi con gran diletto, tutti le regioni vicine, & anche quelle che sono lontane, mandano à pigliar di quest' acqua".

Bhairavānanda of the *Karpūramañjarī*.

by Prof. H. C. Bhayani

In the introduction (pp. LXII–LXV) to his edition¹ of Rājasekhara's Pk. play *Karpūramañjarī* Ghosh has sought to re-interpret the character of Bhairavānanda, the Kaula priest figuring in that play. Konow and Lanman take the words of Bhairavānanda in Act I at their face value and accordingly consider him to be depicted as a low priest leading a licentious life and a charlatan. Ghosh criticizes this view of the character of Bhairavānanda and tries to show that the apparently vulgar and immoral words of Bhairavānanda possess an inner meaning which sets his character in quite a good light. But if we strictly confine ourselves to the words of the text and their natural tone, it would be difficult for us to accept Ghosh's view. And there is some evidence to show that as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century A. C. Bhairavānanda's character was understood, as by Konow and Lanman, to be drawn in any thing but flattering colours.

Certain passages in Puṣpadanta's *Jasaharacariu* are express interpolations² made by one Gandharva in the year 1308 A. C. One of these interpolated passages (*Jas.* I. 5. 3 to I. 8. 17) concerns itself with Kaulācārya Bhairavānanda's visit to king Māridatta. The portrait of the Bhairavānanda of this passage is obviously drawn with a view to present a typical Ācārya of the Vāmamārga—boastful, licentious, given to magic lore. Now it appears probable that for this passage as for another passage (*Jas.* IV. 22. 17 b—IV. 30–15), the material was taken by Gandharva from the work of an earlier poet called Vatsarāja, regarding whom or whose work we know no more. But Gandharva appears to have availed of another work also. As pointed out below there is such a close resemblance in certain statements and characteristic traits of the Bhairavānanda of the interpolated passage of the *Jasaharacariu* and those of the Bhairavānanda of the *Karpūramañjarī* that we cannot but think that while composing the *Jasaharacariu*

1 Manomohan Ghosh, *Karpūramañjarī*, University of Calcutta, 1939.

2 P. L. Vaidya, *Jasaharacariu* (K. J. S. I), 1931, Introduction pp. 17–18.

17 भा. वि. मा.

passage in question, Gandharva must have the *Karpūramañjarī* before him. Of course there is some difference in the distribution of emphasis with regard to the depiction of the various traits of the character, Gandharva stressing its braggart side while Rajaśekhara bringing its dissolute way of living into prominent relief. But otherwise the similarity between the two portraitures is strikingly far-reaching. The points of resemblance—verbal or otherwise—are :

- (1) Bhairavānanda is a Kaula priest.
 कुलमग-लगा *Karpū.* p. 13, l. 5.
 कोलो धम्मो „ p. 13, l. 10.
 कुलमग-चारि *Jasa* 1 6 25
 कउलायरिउ „ 1 5 2
- (2) Rumours about his miraculous powers reach the ears of the king.
 किं सो जो जण-वअणादो अच्चभूद-सिद्धि सुणीअदि । *Karpū.* p. 12, l. 13.
 “सव्वउ विज्जउ महु विअफुरन्ति
 बहु तन्त-मन्त अगगइ सरन्ति” ।
 इय जम्पन्तहो तहो जाय वत्त
 सा मारिदत्त-कण्णन्तु पत्त ॥ *Jasa.* 1 6 15-16.
- (3) He subsists on begging alms.
 भिक्खा भोजं *Karpū.* p. 13, l. 9.
 भिक्खअरु *Jasa.* 1 6 2.
- (4) He freely partakes of wine and meat.
 मजं मंसं पिज्जए खज्जएअ *Karpū.* p. 13, l. 8.
 सव्वग्गसि *Jasa.* 1 6 1.
- (5) He leads a life completely submerged in sensual pleasures.
 Stanzas 21, 22, 23, *Karpū.* Act. I.
 इन्द्रियसुहु महु पुज्जइ *Jasa.* 1 6 28
- (6) He is self-praising.
 तं णत्थि भूमिवलए मह जं न सिद्धं etc. *Karpū.* I. 24.
 अपिं अप्पहो माहप्पु दप्पु
 अणउञ्छिउ जम्पइ थुणइ अप्पु *Jasa.* 1 6 8
- (7) He claims to have control over the sun and moon.
 दंसेमि तं पि ससिणं वसुहावइणं
 थम्ममेमि तस्स-वि रविस्स रहं णहउहे । *Karpū.* p. 14, l. 1-2.
 हउँ थम्ममि रविहि विमाणु जन्तु

चन्दस्स जौण्ह छायमि तुरन्तु । *Jasa.* I 6 15.

Note the almost identical wordings of the lines in black.

- (8) In fact he claims to be all-powerful.

तं णत्थि भूमि-वल्लए मह जं न सज्झं ।

ता भण, किं कीरदु । *Karpū.* p. 14, l. 5-6.

महु सयल सिद्धि

विष्फुरइ ; खणन्तरि विज्ज-सिद्धि ।

हउँ हरण-करण-कारण-समत्थु

× × × ×

जं जं तुहुँ मग्गहि किं-पि वत्थु

तं तं हउँ देमि महा-पसत्थु । *Jasa.* I 7 1-3.

- (9) He instantly complies with the king's request.

विदूषकः—तर्हि मए एक्कं कण्णा-रअणं दिट्ठं ।

तं इह आणीअदु ।

(This is supported by the king :

राजा—अवदारिज्जदु पुण्णिमाहरिणक्को धरणीअलम्मि ।)

भैरवानन्दः—आणीअदि । *Karpū.* p. 14, l. 9-11.

ता चवइ राउ

“महु खेचरत्तु करि × ×

“तुह खेचरत्तु हउँ करमि बप्प” *Jasa.* I 7 4-5

Such a close resemblance between ideas and certain expressions of the above-quoted passages cannot be accidental. Gandharva, in all likelihood, has modelled his Bhairavānanda—directly or through Vatsarāja—after the Bhairavānanda of the *Karpūramāñjarī* and both of these sketches are drawn in colours which are far from complimentary.

Review

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With its 53 articles on a variety of subjects by eminent scholars this volume is a worthy successor of Part I. Most of the articles are important and deserve special notice ; but as it is not possible to refer to all of them in this review, we shall deal only with a few.

In "Buddhism in Gujarati Literature", Diwan Bahadur K. M. Jhaveri shows that though Buddhism is hardly referred to in old or even mediaeval Gujarati literature, modern Gujarati literature has dealt with the life of Buddha and his teachings. Mahamahopadhyaya P. V. Kane has cited some eight instances of striking parallelisms between the *Arthasāstra* (I. 20, 21) and the *Matsya-Purāṇa* (ch. 219) in "Kauṭilya and the Matsya-Purāṇa", and has shown "that the *Matsya-P.* is based on the *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭilya and on no other work". According to M. M. Kane, "the *Matsya-P.* cannot be later than the sixth century A. D." 483 B. C. has been the generally accepted date of Buddha's death, and various synchronisms have been established on the basis of that date. On a consideration of the evidence of Indian Buddhists, Dr. E. J. Thomas, in a very important article entitled "Theravādin and Sarvāstivādin dates of the Nirvāṇa" states that 386 B. C. was the year for Buddha's death. If accepted, this date will affect the whole scheme of chronology not only of the Bimbisāras, Sīśunāgas and Pradyotas, but also of the Mauryas and other dynasties. Dr. L. Sarup (whose sad and sudden demise is a serious loss to Vedic scholarship) has adduced ten citations in parallel columns from the commentaries of Venkaṇṭha Mādhava and Sāyaṇa to show that "Sāyaṇa's interpretation is traditional and not individualistic." "On the history of ḷ in Pāli" by Dr. S. M. Katre shows "that in dialects of MIA which possess both ḷ and r, the ḷ-forms should be phonetically speaking earlier than the r-forms." In an interesting and informative article on "Ambaṣṭha, Ambaṣṭhā and Āmbaṣṭha," Dr. Surya Kanta shows that Ambaṣṭha means the people of military

caste ; Ambaṣṭhā means a plant having sharp smell or bitter juice ; and Āmbaṣṭha is the name of a janapada and its inhabitants were Āmbaṣṭhas. Ptolemy's Ambastai meant Āmbaṣṭhas and not Ambaṣṭhas. Āmbaṣṭhas have been located round about Ambahāṭa (in the Nakur tahsil of Saharanpur district) which has been taken as the seat of the Āmbaṣṭha power. Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri has noticed the lives and literary activities of 34 Sanskrit poets discovered from the *Subhāṣitasārasaṅgraha*, and whose names are unknown from anthologies hitherto published. Though no reference or trace of 'Takṣasūtra' is found even in the *Samarāṅgaṇa-Sūtradhāra*, Dr. Umesh Mishra draws attention to three 'Takṣasūtras' he found in the course of his studies. Dr. Raghavan takes stock of all that has been written hitherto on Kālidāsa's *Kuntaleśvaraśaṅkṛāntya*, and examines it critically in his paper on the same subject. From annalysis of the details concerning villages and towns in the *Mānasāra Vāstusūtra*, Dr. P. K. Acharya shows that town-planning was well developed, that street lights and foot paths provided, that the roads were watered and that the importance of the drainage system and of orientation of residences to get the maximum benefit of the sun and the wind was appreciated. Mohenjo-daro has been compared to the *Dronaka* fortress described in the *Mānasāra*. Contrary to the common belief supported by Dr. Levi, Dr. F. W. Thomas has shown that *Devaputra* is an Indian term not invented by or for the Kuṣāṇas ; that about the third century A. D. it became for the first time known in China from an Indo-Chinese source ; that the Yuehchih rulers had an appellation which as rendered into Chinese was verbally identical with the ancient Chinese imperial title "Son of heaven," and that in India itself the term "*devaputra*" has never, except in reference to the Yuehchih, been used as an appellation of royalty. In giving the history of Śrī Vijayanārāyaṇa Temple at Belur in Mysore State, Dr. M. H. Krishna has stated that King Viṣṇuvardhana built the main temple of Keśava in Belur in commemoration of his victory against the Chola Viceroy of Tālkad, and that his successors and the Vijayanagar emperors and Mysore King also preserved, repaired and rebuilt the temple. Dr. B. M. Barua first considers the views of earlier workers in the field about the Indus script in his article on "Indus Script and Tantric Code," and briefly indicates the way in which the guidance from the Tantric code might be followed. Though Tantra texts as now extant are compilations of a compa-

relatively modern age, they embody some pictographs which stand for a syllabic form of writing. Dr. Barua claims certainty in the interpretation of a seal (No. 387 on Pl. CXII in Marshall's *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization*) representing two Suparnas on an Aśvattha tree. According to him, there is apparently no solid ground for thinking that there is anything Dravidian or proto-Dravidian in the Indus seals and their inscriptions, and no one need be astonished if the language is a form of Prakrit from which the language of the *R̥gveda* itself evolved with no real dual in it save and except in the compounds denoting natural pairs.

There are 45 plates and a number of text-figures and tables. The printing and get up are excellent. We strongly commend both volumes to all lovers of Indology.

A. D. P.

† IN MEMORIAM DHARMANAND KOSAMBI

India has lost not only a scholar of sterling merit but also a selfless, patriotic and liberal-minded soul by the demise of Professor Dharmānand Kosambi after a chronic illness, of long duration. He was a man of lofty ideals, in pursuit of which he struggled throughout his life with great zeal and vigour. He has left his autobiography (*Nivedan*) in Marathi, which is inspiring and instructive to future younger generations.

Born on 9th October 1876 in Goa, he was the youngest of the seven children born to his parents, Saraswat brahmins living by farming. His name was Dharmaji Damodar Kosambi, slightly altered afterwards when he received a temporary ordination to the Buddhist Sangha. The boy had received no education beyond the primary stage until he was out of his teens. When he was twentyone years old, he happened to read a short life of Buddha in the *Balbodh*, children's magazine, which inspired him to learn Sanskrit and get a firsthand information about that great personality. Undaunted by the dispiriting advice given by one and all with whom he came into contact, after visiting a good many places, he reached Kāśī, where he could study without paying any fees and could get free meals and lodging. He studied the *Kaumudī* and *Nyāya* under the well-known Gangādhara Shastri Telang, but as these works threw no light on Buddha's teaching their knowledge did not satisfy the yearning heart of Dharmāji.

He came to know that Buddha's religion had followers in Nepal, so he left Kāśī for the north but finding that the form of Buddhism there was a degenerate one, he went to Burma and then to Ceylon and studied the Pāli texts in vihāras. The teacher for whom he had the greatest respect was Rev. Sumangalācārya of the Vidyodaya College near Colombo.

After a few years' study of the Pāli texts, he returned to India. In Calcutta, he found, in Harinath De, an ardent pupil by whose efforts, Kosambi was appointed Lecturer in Pali at the Calcutta University in 1906. Soon after at the desire of Mahārāja Sayājirao Gāikwād, who promised him a stipend if he chose to live in Mahārāṣṭra, Kosambi left Calcutta and came to live in Bombay and Poona. In Bombay he formed the friendship of Dr. Woods of the Harvard University, at whose invitation Kosambi sailed for

America to edit the *Visuddhimagga* in collaboration with Prof. Lanman. In 1912, after returning from Harvard, he joined the Fergusson College, Poona, as Professor of Pali. Many of his pupils in the Fergusson College have rendered service to the Pāli literature by editing and translating some of the Pāli texts. It was Prof. Kosambi through whose efforts backed by Dr. Bhandarkar, Pali was introduced into the University of Bombay.

Dharmanand re-visited America in 1918, to complete his unfinished work on the *Visuddhimagga* and after returning joined the Gujarat Vidyāpīṭh of Ahmedabad fostered by the congress. Here he edited the *Abhidhammatthasangaha* and *Abhidhānappadīpikā* in Devanagari, translated the *Dhammapada* into Gujarati and wrote *Bauddha Saṅghācā Paricaya* in Marathi and Gujarati. He also visited Russia, as a devoted follower of Karl Marx and worked as a Professor in the Leningrad Academy. After returning to India he joined the Satyāgraha movement and was jailed. He spent the latter part of his life in social uplift in the labourer's quarters in Bombay at the Kāśī Vidyāpīṭh in Benares and at Wardha. During all these years, he kept up his reading and writing along with the service of the masses. After a prolonged illness, he passed away on 4th June 1947, at Mahātma Gandhi's Ashram at Wardha.

Prof. Dharmanand was not an armchair scholar. He had a vigorous and zealous career. Spread of Buddha's philosophy, which has many points of contact with pure socialism, was his one aim in life. He despised riches but was regarded with reverence and love by several princes and merchant-princes. Besides the works referred to above, he has to his credit (1) *Bhagavān Buddha*: an account of the life and teachings of the Buddha; (2) *Indian Culture and Ahimsā*, a book which could raise several controversies if it was carefully and widely read; (3) *Buddha, Dharma, āpi Saṅgha*; lectures delivered at Baroda at the unveiling of a bronze statue of the Buddha; (4) *Stories from the Jātaka*s for children; (5) *Visuddhimagga*, Devanāgarī edition (6) *Navanīta-ṭīkā* on the *Abhidhammatthasangaha*; and a few unpublished works. His interpretation of Aśoka's Bhabra edict is regarded as authoritative by scholars. Kosambi's lectures were a treat; while in conversation he was a master. He leaves one son and three daughters behind him. We share the sorrow of the bereaved family.

Nanu rittā sabbasaṅkhārā!

C. V. Joshi

VIKRAMĀDITYA IN THE PURĀṆAS

By Dr. A. D. Pusalker

It has hitherto been accepted by scholars that the Purāṇas are silent about Vikramāditya probably on account of absence of any reference to Vikramāditya in Pargiter's standard work on the Purāṇa Text on the Dynasties of the Kali Age. The Puranic mention of the Gardabhins (or Gardabhilas), who ruled the earth for 72 years¹ was taken to refer to the dynasty to which Vikramāditya belonged, on the basis of similarity of names in the Jain versions of the Vikramāditya story.² The supposed non-mention of even the name of Vikramāditya—let alone his exploits and glorious reign—in the Purāṇas was taken as an important factor against the historicity of the great king. Those who accepted the historicity of Vikramāditya of the first century B. C., the founder of the Vikrama era and the annihilator of the Śakas could not satisfactorily account for the absence of any reference to the king and his eventful regime in the Purāṇas. It was urged that the absence may be due to the fact that Vikramāditya had Jinistic leanings, and the orthodox compilers of the Purāṇas, therefore, ignored him altogether. Some accounts describing Vikramāditya as a devotee of Śiva, however, run counter to this suggestion. It may also be said that the silence of the Purāṇas about Vikramāditya results from there being no details and particulars in the Purāṇas from the Āndhras downwards.

It is not, however, correct to say that the Purāṇas are entirely silent about Vikramāditya. The *Bhaviṣya Mahā-Purāṇa* gives a detailed account, at four places, of the genealogy and exploits of Vikramāditya,³ and there is a short reference to him in

1 *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 45-6; 72.

2 Cf. W. Norman Brown, *The Story of Kālaka*, pp. 11, 33, 106; F. Edgerton, *Vikrama's Adventures* pp. LXIV f; Steu Konow, *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. II, Part I, pp. XXVII f; Jayaswal, pp. *JBORS*, XVI, pp. 234 ff, 260 f; *Cambridge History of India* Vol. I, 167-8 (Charpentier); pp. 532-3 (Rapson); Tarn, *Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 335.

• 3 Published by Śrī Venkateśvara Press Bombay, III. 1. 7; 2. 22-23; 3. 2; 4. 1; 4. 23. Out of several articles published on Vikramāditya only Karandikar (*Sahyādrī*, April 1944, p. 209) refers to the *Bhaviṣya* account.

the *Skanda Purāṇa*.¹ Pargiter considers the *Bhaviṣya* account as "altogether vitiated and worthless", and ignores it altogether in his *Dynasties of the Kali Age*.² Curiously enough, the *Skanda* is not even mentioned as containing any reference to the dynasties of the Kali age!

Before we proceed to give particulars about Vikramāditya from the *Bhaviṣya* let us consider whether the account is entirely worthless as maintained by Pargiter and others. Pargiter appears, however, to have changed his former view in his *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, where he rightly observes: "It is highly improbable that the present *Bhaviṣya* can be a totally different work from the ancient *Bhaviṣyat*. It was easier and more natural to tamper with and revise an existing work of acknowledged importance so as to bring it into accordance with later notions than to compose wholly new work and supersede the earlier authority completely..."³ Thus, even according to Pargiter, the present *Bhaviṣya* is not an altogether new composition, but a revised and interpolated version of the ancient text. It can thus be said that despite several portions which are modern and very late interpolations in the *Bhaviṣya*, e. g. those referring to Akbar, Timur Lang, Victoria, Parliament, etc., doubt and uncertainty attach only to these particular portions and not to the whole book. Further, tradition demanded that the Purāṇas should be re-edited with the changes in society so that their importance and authority may not decrease;⁴ and with this aim, the writers kept the Purāṇas up-to-date by incorporating fresh material. Thus, each Purāṇa contains material added to it at different periods. Sometimes the names of successive editors were mentioned in the Purāṇas, and additions were transferred from one Purāṇa to another. The additions in the Purāṇas subsequent to the Āndhras, however, were of sporadic nature. These additions were not always fresh compositions, but taken over from existing works, and while composing afresh authors utilised old material.

It is not possible to pass any remarks as to the dates and authenticity of particular chapters in the *Bhaviṣya*, in the absence of

1 Published by Śrī Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay, I. 2. 40. 249-54. C. V. Vaidya had referred to this passage in connection with Śūdraka in his paper read at the Baroda Oriental Conference (Proceedings, pp. 575-582).

2 *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. VII-VIII, XXI, XXX.

3 *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 46.

4 Cf. *Matsya Purāṇa*, 53, 8-9.

a critical study of the MS material of the *Bhaviṣya*. But in preparing a critical edition of the *Bhaviṣya*, it can be demonstrated, on the evidence of the MSS, how particular chapters or additions were made after a particular period. The parallel instance of the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* can best illustrate the point. MS evidence takes us back to 1000 A. D. in the case of the Great Epic, and we know definitely of additions after 1000 A. D.; but these do not affect the authenticity of the whole epic, but of the particular interpolations.

The *Bhaviṣya* itself states that from the original nucleus of 12000 stanzas it was augmented to a work of 50000 stanzas by additions of Ākhyānas and Upākhyānas, in the same manner as the *Skanda* which came to contain 100,000 stanzas. In common with the other Purāṇas the *Bhaviṣya* had its editions at the end of the Bhārata war and at the Naimiṣa sacrifice in the reign of Adhiśimākṛṣṇa. It appears to have been re-edited at the time of the Śuṅgas when Puṣyamitra was regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu, the future Kalki incarnation, the harbinger of a new era, and the Kali age was considered to have ended with the Mauryas. The glorification of Puṣyamitra shows that the downfall of the Mauryas and the rise of the Śuṅgas was regarded as an epoch-making event of the period. But in later times people thought that the Kali had not yet ended, and that the Kalki incarnation was yet to come. Subsequent editors of the *Bhaviṣya* therefore, placed, the account of Puṣyamitra not only after Vikramāditya whom he preceded, but after the various foreign rulers from Timur to Victoria. The Kalki incarnation is the last one according to traditional accounts and hence everything was supposed to precede Puṣyamitra, the Kalki incarnation. While the Śuṅga period looked to the end of the Mauryas as the end of the Kali, and the rise of Puṣyamitra as the dawn of new era: later writers felt that the Kali still persisted and the Kalki is still to make his appearance.

The genealogy and account of Vikramāditya as found in the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* may be summarised as under:

Four dynasties are spoken as springing from Agni (Agnikula). In one of these Agnikulas in the south there was a king named Pramāra in the Kali year 3710,¹ who ruled for six years. The

1 There seems to be some mistake in the enumeration here; for the Kali year 3710 will be (3710-3102 =) 608 A. D. If the genealogical details are correct, the year comes to be 2885 Kali.

powerful monarch well-versed in the *Sāmaveda* resided in the divine capital Ambāvātī created for him by goddess Ambā (Durgā). Pramara's son Mahāmada (or Mahāmara, as given in III. 4. 1) succeeded him and ruled for three years. Mahāmada was followed in turn by Devāpi, Devadūta and Gandharvasena, who ruled respectively for three, three, and fifty years. Gandharvasena¹ retired to forest after consecrating his son Śaṅkha on the throne. Śaṅkha ruled for thirty years. In the Kali year 3000, a (second) son was born to Gandharvasena through the favour of Śiva, for the destruction of Śakas and the glorification of the Āryadharmā, and he was named Vikramāditya. It is said that Vikramāditya was born of the celestial maiden Viramatī sent by Indra to Gandharvasena, and that Vikramāditya in his past birth was the Brāhmaṇa Śivadr̥ṣṭi, a devotee of Śiva. At the age of five, Vikramāditya left for forest to perform austerities, and practised penance for twelve years, after which he returned to the divine city Ambāvātī, and the city prospered. Lord Śiva sent him a throne decorated with 32 idols. The Vetāla (Vampire) created by Pārvatī for the protection of Vikramāditya also went to the king. Vikramāditya used to worship Mahādeva at Mahākāleśvara. He erected a big assembly hall for his throne. The Vetāla approached the king in the guise of a Brāhmaṇa and told him a number of stories, historical and mythological. In the last story, the Vetāla advised the king to worship Durgā, saying that he (Vetāla) in the previous birth was king Kṣatrasimha, and attained Śivaloka (the abode of Śiva) through the favour of Aṣṭaka. The Vetāla then goads the king to start conquering his enemies assuring him of his help. The king is further told to rid the earth of the Dasyus, to erect various sacred shrines according to Śāstras, and to make a declaration to the effect that the era founded by him (Vikramāditya) would be reversed only by a sovereign who would again save all sacred sites. Vikramāditya performed the Aśvamedha (horse sacrifice) as prescribed in the sacred texts. The horse reached Kapilasthāna in the east, Rāmeśvara in the south, the Indus in the west and the Badari forest in the north, symbolising the acceptance of Vikramāditya's suzerainty throughout the territories traversed by the horse. After its return, the horse went to the Śīprā, and latter consigning itself to

1 Probably Gandharvasena was the correct name of Vikramāditya's father, which was corrupted into Gardabhila, and stories invented later to justify that name.

flames attained heaven. All gods with their spouses attended Vikramāditya's sacrifice; but the king became distressed at the absence of Candra. After the completion of sacrifice, Vikramāditya distributed numerous gifts and proceeded to Candraloka (abode of the moon) with the Vetāla. Candra stated the advent of the Kali as his reason for absence, and gave the king ambrosial water, which in turn, the king offered to Indra who in the guise of a Brāhmaṇa asked for it. Bhartṛhari obtained the same water from Jayanta, who had secured it from Indra. Afterwards having taken it, Bhartṛhari retired to forest. Vikramāditya thereafter enjoyed the earth for a hundred years, and after death was taken to the heavens. Vikramāditya's son Devabhakta ruled for ten years, but was killed by the Śakas. His son Śālivāhana conquered the Śakas, and ruled for sixty years. Vikramāditya's kingdom is said to have been divided into eighteen states under different rulers on his death. The eighteen states were: Indraprastha, Pañcāla, Kurukṣetra, Kapila, Antardvī, Vraja, Ajamera, Maru, Gurjara, Mahārāṣṭra, Draviḍa, Kalinga, Avanti, Uḍupa, Vaṅga, Gauḍa, Magadha, and Kosala. After Vikramāditya's death, the Śakas crossing the Indus entered India and committed many atrocities, killing the son of Vikramāditya. Śālivāhana, the grandson of Vikramāditya, however, conquered the Śakas and the barbarous hordes of the Cīnas, Bāhlikas, Kāmarūpas, Romajas, and Khurajas, confiscated their treasures, and punished them. He recovered his ancestral kingdom, and made the Indus the boundary of the Aryan rulers. The Śakas were prohibited from crossing the Indus and thus to trespass into the Aryan country.

The facts that emerge from the *Bhaviṣya* account are: The Agni-vamśa myth appears to have been invented to suggest that the forefathers of Vikramāditya did not come from orthodox Kṣatriya families. There is also the likelihood of Vikramāditya coming of a mixed parentage. He is said to have vanquished the Śakas and to have founded an era. The name of his father Gandharvasena was later corrupted into Gardabhilla. The Jain accounts have invented a story to justify this name. The *Bhaviṣya* account is corroborated by the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* which say that Vikramāditya's father retired into forest after enthroning him¹ whereas the Jain account and certain Hindu tales declare that Vikramāditya's father was deposed and killed in the encounter with the Śakas who were invited by the disgruntled Kālaka, whose

1 *Kathāsaritsāgara*, XVIII. 1. 59-60; *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, X. 1. 14.

sister was outraged by the king (Vikramāditya's father).¹ According to these accounts, Vikramāditya's boyhood and youth were spent in hardship and adversity, and he regained his ancestral kingdom by defeating and killing the Śāka usurper. The *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* states that Śālivāhana was the grandson of Vikramāditya, and he defeated and expelled the Śakas who had seized the kingdom of Vikramāditya. According to the Jain account and some Brahmanical works, however, Vikramāditya was defeated and killed by Śālivāhana who hailed from the south.² There are also different views with regard to the significance of the Śāka era—some maintaining that it commemorates the victory of the Śakas, while others take it as the year of the defeat of the Śāka king.

The *Skanda Purāṇa* states that in the year 2710 of the Kali era (392 B. C.) Śūdraka will be the king. In 2690 of the Kali era (412 B. C.) there will be the rule of the Nandas who will be killed by Cāṇakya. Vikramāditya will rule in Kali 3020 (82 B. C.) through the favour of goddess Durgā, and he will relieve the distress of the poor. Thereafter will come Śāka.

This passage from the *Skanda Purāṇa* shows the existence of a Vikramāditya in the first century B. C., and definitely distinguishes him from Śūdraka. Kalhaṇa also distinguishes between the two thus contradicting the theory of the identity of Śūdraka and Vikramāditya which has been propounded by some scholars.³

It will be seen that the statements from the Purāṇas raise many interesting problems, some of which are briefly indicated here. In order to arrive at a correct historical account of Vikramāditya it is necessary that these should be considered in all aspects.

1 Cf. *The Story of Kālaka*, p. 11; *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, pp. XXVII f; XXXV f.

2 Cf. *Vikrama's Adventures*, pp. LXIX-LXX.

3 *Rājataranginī*, III. 343:

सन्त्यज्य विक्रमादित्यं सत्त्वोद्विक्तं च शूद्रकं ।

त्वां च भूपाल पर्याप्तं धैर्यमन्यत्र दुर्लभम् ॥

A. Rangaswami Saraswati, "The Founder of the Vikrama Era", *QJMS*, XII, pp. 268-82; 506-10. The *Kṛṣṇacarita* ascribed to Samudragupta, published by Rajavaidya J. K. Sastri (Gondal, 1941) lends support to the identity of Vikramāditya and Śūdraka (pp. 4-5); but there are serious doubts regarding the authenticity of the *Kṛṣṇacarita*.

SOME OF THE MISSING LINKS IN THE HISTORY OF ASTROLOGY

Dr. A. S. Gopani. M. A., Ph. D.

There is no available source other than the *Pañcasiddhāntikā* to know about the authors and writers on Astronomy and Astrology who flourished before 498 A. D. It refers to Lāṭa, Siṃha, Pradyumna, and Vijayanandī¹. The *Brahmaguptasiddhānta* also refers to all these writers and tries to lay bare the faults existing in their systems. No works of these writers are available to-day.

Āryabhata I

Āryabhata, the famous writer of *Āryabhaṭīya* (though Varuṇa in his commentary on *Khaṇḍakhādya* of Brahmagupta drops a vague hint at his having written another work on Karaṇa which is not available at present) is no doubt the earliest known writer. His date is 476 A. D. as is gathered from a section entitled *Kālakriyāpāda* of his own work, *Āryabhaṭīya*. He is the first known Indian astronomer who firmly enunciated the principle that it is the earth and not the planets that moved. It is doubtful to say where he flourished. Some hold the view that he might have probably flourished in Patna in Bengal while some are of the opinion that the city, Kusumapura² mentioned by him in his work increases the probability of his having flourished in the Deccan. Personally, I am of the opinion that he flourished in the Deccan as his system is held much more in respect at Mysore and Karaṇāṭak which are predominantly inhabited by the Vaiṣṇavas who are proud of their Āryapakṣa. Brahmagupta has exposed the drawbacks and demerits of his system³.

Varāhamihira

Varāha⁴ who flourished in 505 A. D. comes next. He is the father of modern Astrology. Ādityadāsa was his father from whom

1 See *Pañcasiddhāntikā*, chaps. 1; 14; and the last chap. also.

2 आर्यभट्टस्त्विह निगदति कुसुमपुरेऽभ्यर्चितं ज्ञानम् ॥

3 The number of the faults seems to be greater because Brahmagupta has enumerated these only as found by him alone. Brahmagupta believes that there were many other faults detected by earlier writers as shown by this line:—कालांतरेण दोषा येऽन्यैः प्रोक्ता न ते मयाऽभिहिताः ॥

4 For a detailed estimate of this writer, see my article “वराहमिहिर, बृहज्जातक, अने तेना व्याख्याकारो” pub. in the गुजराती साहित्य परिषद पत्रिका, Vol. 3 nos. 10-11; pp. 6-9.

he acquired the knowledge of Astrology. Avantī was his place. He has written quite a good number of original works some of which are mentioned below in order of time :—*Pañcasiddhāntikā*; *Vivāha-pāṭala*, *Brhājātaka*, *Laghujātaka*, *Yātrā*, and *Brhatsamhitā*. Utpala has written learned commentaries on some of these works, especially, *Brhājātaka*, *Laghujātaka*, *Yātrā*, and *Brhatsamhitā*.

S'rīṣeṇa and Viṣṇucandra

Nothing is known about these writers excepting the fact that they flourished after Varāha and before Brahmagupta. The Romakasiddhānta and Vasiṣṭhasiddhānta as they are found to-day are either theirs or have been based on those formulated in the works of these writers. Their dates fall between 505 A. D. and 628 A. D.

Brahmagupta

He flourished in about 598 A. D. at Bhinnamāla¹ under the regime of Vyāghramukha of the Cāpa dynasty which can probably be identified with the famous Cawḍa or Cāpotkaṭa dynasty. He was the son of Jiṣṇu and he also styled himself as the Bhillamālācārya as is known from Varuṇa's commentary on his *Khaṇḍakhādya*. His three monumental and original works, namely, *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* (which was written at the young age of thirty), *Khaṇḍakhādya*, and *Tripraśnādhlīkāra* are known to us. There are two other works of the title of *Brahmasiddhānta*, one of which is by Śākalya and the other is found incorporated in *Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa*. Both these seem to be not so important as the one referred to above because Utpala does not take any notice of them. In the chapter titled Dūṣaṇādhyāya of his learned *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* he has taken Āryabhaṭa right and left, though sometimes we do feel somewhere that he was not so much justified in doing so as he would have us believe. Twenty-seven yogas such as Vyatipāta and Vaidhṛti were not known to this writer as they were not to Varāha also. The yogas as a branch of the Pañcāṅga are thus a later development at the best. Pṛthūdaka has written a brilliant commentary on *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* but only on ten chapters. Precise and cautious writer of a very great magnitude as he was, he did not allow any scope to later writers to adulterate his work by insertions and additions through mentioning the exact number of the Āryās at the end. Still, however, the later writers have anyhow smuggled in

¹ Indian Antiquary, XVII, p. 192. July, 1888.

his work and there are found some five to seven Āryās in the body of the text which are not commented upon by Pṛthūdaka in his commentary. In his *Khaṇḍakhāḍya*, a work on Karaṇa he follows in the footsteps of Āryabhata¹ whom though, whenever and wherever he got the opportunity he has not spared. This is no less surprising and can be accounted for only in two ways: either Āryabhata's work on Karaṇa was most popular in his times or he had no sufficient guts to put forth his new pleas and build a superstructure of Karaṇa on the foundations laid down in his *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* for his self-conceived queer notions of adverse criticism to which he must have been temperamentally very sensitive. There are two commentaries known to be on *Khaṇḍakhāḍya*, one by Varuṇa and the other by Utpala. Pṛthūdaka also is reported to have written a commentary on it but it is not available. There is also a fourth one which is by an anonymous writer. Bhāskarācārya mentions the work by name in his work. It was also seen by Alberuni who tried to examine some of his theories in light of the conditions prevailing in his times. The fact that his *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* was followed in Deccan before 897 A. D. is well attested by the *Uttarapurāṇa* of Guṇabhadra, a Jain writer, who is assigned to 897 A. D. when the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, Akālavarṣa, reigned in the Deccan². This work, which had as a matter of fact no appreciable following at any time, fell down in disuse after Bhāskarācārya whose *Siddhāntasiromani* is undoubtedly based on the pattern of *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta*. In conclusion it must be granted that Brahmagupta was recognized on all sides as a genius of a supreme order. Bhāskarācārya, himself no less brilliant authority on the subject, has paid a glowing tribute to this author³. By some he, and not Āryabhata, is accredited even with the authorship of a Bijaganita.

Lalla

Only two works, titled *Dhivrddhidatantra* and *Ratnakōśa* of this writer are known to us. On the authority of Paramādīśvara, a commentator of Āryabhata⁴, J. B. MODAK following Dr. KERN, places this author in the first decade of the sixth century of the Christian era⁵ as he was, according to him, the pupil of Āryabhata. But it will be Firstly Bhāskarācārya would not have found faults with Lalla, had

1 वक्ष्यामि खण्डखाद्यकमाचार्यार्यभट्टतुल्यफलम् ॥

2 See st. 35 of this work.

3 कृती जयति जिष्णुजो गणचक्रचूडामणिः ॥

4 He uses the following phrase "तच्छिष्यो लल्लाचार्यः" in his commentary.

5 See *Śrītiṣṇāna* Aug. 1885, p. 120.

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he been the pupil or even the contemporary of Āryabhaṭa I whose theories are held in high esteem by Bhāskarācārya. More over those faults and drawbacks to which Lalla is exposed, are not at all to be readily seen, from the considerations which I have offered below, that this view is not so tenable as it *prima facie* appears to be found with in the work of Āryabhaṭa I. Secondly, Brahmagupta who has mercilessly attacked Āryabhaṭa I, would not have refrained from levelling the same attack against Lalla also. On the contrary. the *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* of Brahmagupta is conspicuous by absence, pure and simple, of the names of Lalla and his works, No one will deny this open fact that it takes considerable time for differences to originate, evolve, and gain ground between theories and theories; much more so in the case of a teacher and a pupil and also in the case of contemporaries. How, then, can we explain away the radical and irreconcilable disparities between the principles and theories advanced and adumbrated in the works of Āryabhaṭa I and Lalla, his pupil? Fourthly, it is not only out of the rules of etiquette but against those of sanity also to throw a fling at one's own teacher.¹ Fifthly, Lalla has nowhere in his work mentioned himself as a pupil of Āryabhaṭa I. All these considerations rule out the possibility, if there be any, of Lalla's being a pupil of Āryabhaṭa I. Now it is clear that the lower limit of Lalla's time cannot be pulled down beyond 1039 A. D. as Śrīpati, whose date falls in about 1039 A. D., has based his *Ratnamālā* on Lalla's *Ratnakōśa*. A fact curious but at the same time equally genuine and reliable, that both Brahmagupta and Lalla are silent about each other in their works can pretty well help us in establishing a conclusion that they both might have been contemporaries, not knowing each other and residing in, perhaps far away, distant places. To wind up, we can place him in about 638 A. D. Lalla was a great inventor. Though Bhāskarācārya criticised him outright in his work, directly or indirectly, it must be stated without much fear of contradiction, that there was a flare of genius in him coupled with the passion of a discoverer. This observation of mine, the reader will find justified on the knowledge that the *Bijasaṃskāras* strewn here and there in his work were all arrived at after his personal and none the less accurate observations of the planetary movements and locations.²

1 With reference to those who are the advocates of the theory that it is the earth that revolves, and Āryabhaṭa I is one of them, he says scoffingly:—

यदि च भ्रमति क्षमा तदा स्वकुलानं कथमाद्भुतः खगाः ॥

2 See st. 20 of his *Dhivṛddhidatāntra*.

Padmanābha

Bhāskarācārya refers to this writer in his *Bījagaṇita* as a writer of *Bījagaṇita*. COLEBROOKE is of the opinion that this writer flourished, at least before Śrīdhara as is evidenced from Śrīdhara's work and hence not before 778 A. D.¹

S'rīdhara

It is clear from the work of Mahāvīra that a writer of this name who had written a work, on the *Vyaktagaṇita* just similar to that of Bhāskarācārya, flourished before him.² COLEBROOKE's discovery of a work of this writer which treated *Aṅkagaṇita* and *Kṣetragaṇita* makes it certain that COLEBROOKE's Śrīdhara and Mahāvīra's Śrīdhara might have been one and the same person. He flourished at least before 853 A.D., that is to say, before Mahāvīra who flourished, it will be seen from the following lines, in about 853 A. D. Bhāskarācārya, who refers to one Śrīdhara as a writer on *Bījagaṇita* seems to be this very writer.

Mahāvīra

It is clear from the prefatory initial portion of his *Sārasaṃgraha* that he was a Jain and enjoyed the patronage of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, Amoghavarṣa I, who was a Jain king and reigned in about 853 A. D. The *Sārasaṃgraha* which is assigned to him dealt with *Vyaktagaṇita*, that is to say, *Aṅkagaṇita* and *Kṣetragaṇita*. It resembled the *Līlāvati* of Bhāskara in the nature of the work but in extent it is larger than *Līlāvati* as it consists of 2000 Slokas. In this *Sārasaṃgraha* there are found some statements from the work of Śrīdhara regarding the *Mīśrakavyavahāra*. Thus the date of Mahāvīra falls in about 853 A. D.

(To be continued)

1 See COLEBROOKE's *Miscellaneous Essays* pp. 422, 450, and 470.

2 COLEBROOKE, *loc. cit*; *op. cit*.

THE ARYANS

By Prof. S. Srikantha Shastri

Since the beginning of Indic studies the Aryan problem has engaged the attention of numerous scholars and though there was more or less unanimity among European philologists as to the nature of the language, its affinities with the major European languages, the original home of the "Aryans" in Europe, and "Aryan" Culture and its date, a further study of the problem in all its aspects merely brought out the inherent absurdities and self-contradictions in this theory. Since the Vedas are acknowledgedly the oldest literature in the world, it is easy to understand the anxiety of European scholars to claim some sort of affinity with the Vedic Aryans mainly on linguistic considerations and subsequently extending the argument to the anthropological and archaeological evidence. It was claimed that all these considerations led to certain definite conclusions, viz., (1) The Aryan is a white man (leucoderm), long-headed (dolichocephalic), leptorrhinian, tall and blond; (2) The language was Ur-Aryan (Indo-Aryan, Indo-Germanic or Indo-European), Sanskrit being one of its derivatives; (3) The original home as indicated by the words for the birch, fir, larch and other flora and fauna in the so called Ur-Aryan tongue must be located somewhere in North Central or Southern Europe. (4) The "migrations" commenced not earlier than 2000 B. C. and a branch of the Aryans occupied Anatolia and Asia Minor in about 1500 B. C. and at about the same time they occupied the Indus valley. (5) The "Aryan" culture was a "warrior-culture" and of a pastoral people, worshipping male deities and natural forces (henotheism), and opposed to the city-building, trading, goddess-worshipping and the pacifist cultures of Asia. Thus philological, anthropological and archaeological researches are supposed to indicate that the long-skulled blonds of Europe represent the primitive Aryan race and that the primeval home of the Indo-Germanic languages must have been in northern Europe.

These arguments rest on certain assumptions, viz:

- (1) That the archaic elements in some of the European languages represent a stage more primitive than Vedic

Sanskrit, or Vedic language is a comparatively later product due to the lapse of several centuries necessary for the Aryan migrations to reach India.

- (2) That though Vedic and Classical Sanskrit literature is unanimously silent as to an extra Indian home and though all attempts to locate some of the rivers and places mentioned in the R̥g-Veda in a region beyond the Hindu Kush have failed, yet the linguistic affinities alone are enough to prove the fact of immigration into India and that within a short period of three or four centuries between 2000 B. C. and 1500 B. C. the Vedic Aryans so completely forgot all about their original home that no where in all the vast corpus of Vedic literature there is any mention of a European home-land.
- (3) That the Aryans in common with many other peoples are dolichocephalic but yet ethnologically constitute a distinct race (genuine long skulls with a cephalic index upto 75, tall stature (170 c. m. or more) fair hair and light eyes).
- (4) That the Aryan languages and race coincide.
- (5) That the Vedas being acknowledgedly earlier in date than the Sagas, Lieds and epics of Northern Europe more truly represent the primitive cultures of the Ur-Aryans and hence represent a warrior tradition.
- (6) That the astronomical facts in the Vedic literature possibly pointing to an earlier date than 2000 B. C. must be dismissed as unreliable.
- (7) That the archaeological evidence of a warrior-people inhabiting South Russia or Central Europe is conclusive enough to indicate that the original habitat must be located in South-East Europe.
- (8) That the cultural condition as described in the R̥g-Veda exactly correspond to the neo-lithic and chalcolithic cultures of the "warrior folk" in Europe—positively (pastoral avocations, village life, religion, literary composition, use of the long sword and the round shield, cremation or burial, pottery, use of the battle-

axe, tribal organisation and the glorification of a single warrior-hero, less consideration for the female sex and deities, etc.) and negatively (the absence of the worship of the Mother goddess, the bull, snake, etc., lack of a strict caste organisation, the ignorance of writing, trade, sea-voyage, towns, "defensive" weapons; temples, etc.).

- (9) That the problems connected with the Indo-Hittite, Mitanni, Avestan and the Brāhūi can be satisfactorily settled by assuming an Aryan migration into India.
- (10) That the Proto-Indic civilisation is non-Aryan and pre-Aryan.

We shall proceed to show that:—

- (1) The Indo-Aryan languages in Europe represent a considerably late phase of the Vedic Sanskrit, modified by a different physical and ethnological environment and hence the terms Indo-Germanic, and Indo-European, do not represent the primitive and true Aryan language of the Vedas and hence the term Aryan cannot be applied to any racial or linguistic group in Europe.
- (2) The consistent and unanimous evidence of Vedic literature proves that the original habitat of the Vedic Aryans was the Indus-Gangetic valley and especially Madhyadeśa.
- (3) The Aryan "race" is not and never was homogeneous, but the Aryan culture dominated and was the joint product of several ethnological groups, dolicho-cephalic as well as brachy-cephalic.
- (4) The Aryan languages and dialects do not represent different waves of immigration and therefore there is no correspondence between "race" and "language".
- (5) The Aryan culture as depicted in the Vedas has very few points of resemblance to the Nordic European cultures and hence like the latter does not represent a warrior tradition.
- (6) The astronomical evidence of the Vedic literature is fairly consistent and accurate pointing to the beginning of Vedic civilisation in about 10,000 B. C.

- (7) The archaeological evidence for the location of the "Aryan" warrior folk in the Ukraine and Steppes of South Russia before their diffusion into Central and North-Western Europe is not conclusive enough to demonstrate that this region was the original home but that the warrior folk had migrated from further South-east before 2000 B. C.
- (8) A balanced and informed estimate of Vedic culture shows that the Indo-Aryans of the Vedas were a very highly advanced people far superior in all essential elements of civilisation to the warrior folk of Europe.
- (9) The Indo-Hatti, the Mitanni, the Iranians and other Aryan people represent the west-ward migrations of Indo-Aryans as early as 3000 B. C., if not earlier. The Dravidians similarly do not represent a different "race" and culture, nor does the Dravidian language possess any affinity with any extra Indian language; thus there is no evidence of any "Dravidian immigration" into India.
- (10) The proto-Indic civilisation represents a cosmopolitan culture developed primarily from Vedic sources.

I

The word Arya is derived from the Sanskrit root *ri-ar* meaning "to plough, cultivate" and phonetically connected with Latin *area* and *aratum*¹. The meaning "noble, exalted" came to be connected with the Aryans only later when they came into contact and conflict with the Pre-"Dravidian" races and hence in the beginning the Aryans were an agricultural people and not a primitive marauding warrior-folk in the pastoral stage of civilisation. The importance attached to flocks and herds in the Vedas should not be exaggerated, for the Vedic literature clearly attaches equal importance to agriculture and trade. The Avesta mentions *Airya* and *Ariya*² and it is assumed that Vedic Sanskrit and Zend were the dialects of the same speech of peoples who in the remote past were more or less homogeneous. Further westwards in Asia Minor the Indo-Hatti and Mitanni are acknowledged to have possessed an Aryan language and in Europe Italic, Hellanic, Celtic, Teutonic,

1 * Monier Williams. Sanskrit Dictionary. *Āryan*.

2 Darmesteter. The Zend Avesta.

Slavonic, Lithuanic or Lettic and Albanian represent developments of the Aryan tongues.

The decipherments of the pictographic inscriptions of the Hattili has considerably changed the former view of an Indo-European Language and it is now possible to assert that Aryan names and languages were widely prevalent in Anatolia in c. 3000 B. C.¹ The Tell Halaf culture and its subsequent manifestations at Carchamesh, Boybeypunari and other centres of Hittite culture reveal that "Indo-Hatti" is the parent language and has two main branches pre-Hittite and pre-Indo-European, the former developing into classical Hittite and the latter into Indo-European with its branches, Samskṛt, Greek and Latin. Hittite, Tocharian and Thraco-Phrygian represent the Central Indo-European group; German, Celtic, Italian and Greek, the *satem* group; Balto-Slavonic, Albanian, Indo-Iranian and Armenian, the *centum* group. Sturtevant² points out the phonetic differences between Indo-Hatti and Indo-European and several "archaisms" in Hittite and assumes that Hittite is opposed to Indo-European. Keith has however argued that Hittite is a development of Indo-European and is not opposed to it³. The theory that the original Hatti were an indigenous people of Eastern Asia Minor whose name was adopted by the founders of the classical Hittite empire in c. 1700 B.C., therefore, is unconvincing, in view of the fact that the pictographic Hattite inscriptions mention distinctly Aryan names of Kings with Puranic analogies⁴. Therefore it is not unreasonable to assume that Aryan languages and culture were prevalent in Asia Minor in the Tell Halaf period which corresponds to the Jemdet Nasr period of Sumerian civilisation.

The Sumerian language is neither "Aryan" nor semetic.⁵ Kramer⁶ shows that there was a clean distinction between the Sumerian's pronunciation of Sumerian and Semite's pronunciation. It is acknowledged that the "Aryan" warrior-folk of the steppes borrowed the words for copper and axe from the Sumerians in about 2000 B.C., when perhaps they came into contact with the out-posts of Sumerian civilisation in Anatolia⁷. The protagonists of an

1 S. Srikantha Shastri-Bharatiya Vidya IV, pt. 1, p. 1.

2 Sturtevant.

3 Keith. Winternitz Memorial Volume, I. H. Q.

4 S. Srikantha Sastri. Bharatiya Vidya, IV, p. 1.

5 Seton Lloyd. Mesopotamia.

6 Kramer. Archiv Orientalni, X.

7 Hawke. Foundations of Europe, 1939.

Aryan home in Europe hold that the linguistic evidence reveals the Aryan speaking peoples distributed roughly wherever these cultures of the Neolithic occur or spread. The intensive study of the Indo-European languages has shown that the primitive ground of dialects lying behind them must be native to some part or all the territory of rather varied physical character stretching between the Baltic and at the furthest the North Sea on one side and the Black Sea and the Caucasus or Caspian on the other.

These dialects had connection with Finno-Ugrian or Uralic speech in the east and with the Caucasian and Near-Eastern tongues as proved by the Sumerian words for "copper" and "axe". This connection existed before the separation into various distinct groups of Germanic, Celtic, Italic, Illyrian, Thracian, Greek and Slavonic. The material and spiritual culture of these "Aryan" warrior folk of the steppes in the 3rd millennium was thus a mixture of a northerly Eur-Asiatic element and the Near Eastern.

The Vedic "*ayas*" has been differently interpreted to mean copper, bronze and iron. *S'yāma ayas* no doubt means iron and figures late in the Brāhmaṇa literature. Red *ayas* is *tāmra* if we connect it with the Latin *aes* (copper). But in some contexts perhaps bronze is implied. The Greek word for copper (*chalkos*) found in Homer is conjectured to be a Cretan word. It is probably connected with Hittite *Harkis* (white, bright). Similarly the Greek word for tin (*Kassiteros*, Skt. *Kāṣṭīra*) is also supposed to be a Cretan word. But Minoan language was non-Greek and probably Anatolian allied to Lykian, Cilician and Carian from where the Minoans migrated to Crete.¹

The word for battle-axe "*paraśu*" and for a tribe "*pārsavas*" (Rg. x-33-2) have been connected with Persians and with *pilakku* but the reasons are unconvincing. *Parsu* and *Tirindira* are two princes of the Yadu clan...A Semitic or non-Aryan origin for the words for copper and battle-axe is thus a mere conjecture. There is no element in the R̥gvedic culture that can be traced to a non-Aryan and non-Indian source. If the warrior folk of Europe took the Sumerian battle-axe and copper and inaugurated the copper age in Europe in c. 2300 B. C. and then again migrated by way of Asia Minor and Iran into India bringing with them copper, then we will have to assume that they reintroduced copper into India in c. 2000 B. C., when the copper and bronze culture of Harappa had

1 Pendlebury. Archaeology of Crete.

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not yet completely passed away. The only consistent theory therefore would be that the knowledge of copper and the use of the axe migrated from India and reached Asia Minor before 3000 B. C. The European warrior-folk represent therefore not the true Aryan culture, though they borrowed "copper" and "axe" from the Sumerians who themselves were indebted for these to India.

The early stage of the Aryan languages in Europe is traced to the Mesolithic period. Max Muller and Whitney regarded Samskr̥t as the perfect flexional language and attempted to equate the language groups with stages of cultural development.¹ Thus the isolating or positional languages like the Chinese, English, Burmese and Sudanese represent the family stage of civilisation; the agglutinative languages like the Turkish, Dravidian, Swahili, Korean and Bantu the nomadic stage; and the flexional languages the highly advanced political stage of Western Europeans. But Vedic Samskr̥t, regarded as a perfect flexional language is supposed to have been current among the pastoral nomadic Aryan. Moreover the polysynthetic or Holo-phrastic languages like those of the Uto-Aztekan group existed among Amer-Indians and hence it is clear that languages are no criterion of the stage of culture.

A superficial comparison of mere items of vocabulary proves nothing. The main proof is morphological and the comparison of vocabulary must be supported by regular correspondence of sound.

Dravidian languages are agglutinative like Turkish, Swahili, Korean, Bantu and to a less extent Hungarian and Finnish. But all attempts to connect Dravidian with "Scythian", Finnish and Hungarian and similarly Korean and Japanese with Turkish and even Hungarian have failed. No extra-Indian origin of the Dravidian languages can be traced and it can be demonstrated that the Dravidian languages developed from the Aryan Paisāci dialects, even as Italian is the result of the break-down of Latin. In fact such fictions as Primitive Germanic, Proto-Indo. European, Ur-Bantu and other original "common" languages are mere generalizations of phonological and grammatical correspondences established by the comparative method.²

The language of the Vedas is hieratic, influenced by necessities of metre on a well established tradition. All attempts to distinguish dialectical differences in the R̥g-Vedic text have

1 Whitney. Language.

2 J. R. Firth. The Tongues of Men, 1939.

failed.¹ Hoernle, Grierson and Risley attempted to see in the R̥g-Vedic language the speech of Madhyadeśa. In order to explain the abrupt transition to the so-called Aryo-Dravidian or Hindustani from the "Indo-Aryan" type of Risley, Dr. Hoernle put forward the theory of a second Aryan invasion from Pamirs through Gilgit and Chitral.² The R̥g-Veda composed in the Punjab (Brahmāvarta) was arranged in Brahmar̥ṣi Deśa (between the Ganges and the Yamunā). It is assumed that in this region the Aryan contact with the aborigines resulted in the adoption of the whole series of lingual letters of Vedic speech. A vast number of words with no traceable Indo-European cognates is the result of the same "Dravidian" or "aboriginal" influence and thus Pali and the Prākṛts developed. This theory finds no support either in ethnology or philology. If vocabulary and dialectal differences are assumed to connote racial admixture in India there is no reason for not assuming the same explanation for the dialectical differences of Avestan, Mittani, Indo-Hatti, and the warrior-folk of Mesolithic and Neolithic Europe. To confuse race with language or culture is unscientific. The R̥g-Veda shows no knowledge of any country beyond the Hindu Kush. Brahmāvarta and Brahmar̥ṣi Deśa were the centres from which Vedic speech and culture migrated in all directions.

It is generally accepted that the Hindu Kush is the ethnological and philological dividing line.³ On its northern slopes are found the brachy-cephalic leptorrhinian people speaking the Iranian languages. To its south are the dolichocephalic "Indo-Afghans" of Deniker, speaking the Paisāca languages which are Sanskritic and probably Vedic dialects. Thus the Aryan tongue is common to both brachy-cephals and dolicho-cephals but in the south the Brāhūis are brachy-cephalic Iranian people with a Dravidian language which itself seems to be an off-shoot of Paisācī dialects.

Conclusion

We may therefore conclude that the existence of the earliest stages of the Aryan dialects in Mesolithic Europe, does not imply that South-Eastern Europe was the original home where the "Aryan" were in a state of civilisation more primitive than the Vedic Aryans. Indo-Hatti, Metanni, Avestan and Paisācī do not

1 Zimmerman. Hymns of the R̥g-Veda. Bomb. Skt. S.

2 B. N. Datta. The Origin of the Aryans, Hindustan Review, 1942, p. 361.

3 Joyce, J. Anth. Inst. XVI, p. 468.

represent the successive stages in the development of Vedic Samskṛt, nor do they make the stages of Aryan migration into India. On the other hand the long established hieratic and highly flexional language of the Vedic Aryans assumed these dialectical forms as a result of the contact with alien peoples at a remote period and reached Europe towards the close of the Mesolithic and the beginning of the Neolithic period in Europe.

II

Theories of extra-Indian habitat.

(1) The primitive habitat can be located in the areas now called Hungary, Austria and Bohemia. But the sounds and consonants of the language have survived in greater purity in India and so it ought to be the home. "It is certain that Ṛg-Veda offers no assistance in determining the mode in which the Vedic Indians entered India. No advance of the Aryas is reflected in the Veda, the bulk of which was composed in the country round the Sarasvatī and modern Ambala, the rivers Ganges to Kubhā, Suvāstu (Swat), Krumu, Gomatī, north Himavanta and Mūjavanta."¹

(2) W. Koppers suggests that the Aryan culture in India is a continuation of two different elements—an eastern from Inner Asia, a southern from the Near East.²

(3) B. G. Tilak's suggestion of an Arctic home has been revived by some scholars.³

(4) Pargiter suggests a trans-Himalayan homeland for the Aryans who were composed of three main stocks in the Samhitā period. The Aila branch of the Mānavas was pure Aryan. The lunar Purūravas clan belonged to this group. The solar Manavas are Dravidians and the Saudyumna branch belonged to the Munda-Monkmer racial group.⁴

(5) The Aryan "homeland" has been located by some in Northern and North-Central Europe; by others between there and the Caucasus, specifically in South Russia....No Aryan homeland can be as narrowly delimited by the prehistorian as has sometimes been wished. Recent attempts to equate the Aryan-

1 Giles. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I.

2 W. Koppers. *Indo-Germanen und die Germanen Frage*, 1936.

3 R. K. Prabhu. *Proc. Baroda Or. Conference*. Patankar: Bh. Iti. Sans Mandal Quarterly.

4 Pargiter. *Indian Historical Tradition*.

speakers of the Neolithic with the Danubian peasants or Combware peoples of the North East seem unlikely.¹

(6) Waddell² holds that the Sumerians are Aryans and included the Guti who appeared in Cappadocia as the Khatti and migrated to the Danube valley. Four centuries before Menes-Minos-Manis Tussu, the emperor whose title was Khad established the first Aryan-Phoenician dynasty in Elam and the Indus Valley. The fall of the Kassî dynasty drove the Aryans eastwards in c. 1200 B. C. and they appear in the Gangetic valley in c. 700 B. C. as Kṣatriyas.

(7) Dr. Pran Nath³ thinks that the Ṛg-Veda is a Sumerian-Egyptian document. The Egyptians are Aryans and mentioned in the Ṛg-Veda (I-131; 132) in regular order as in Manetho. The Egyptians are Pitrs, the Libyans are Rbhus. Aryan Supreme deities of this world Ge and Ira created the people and the language (Girvāṇa is Sumerian Ge-ira).

(8) Hrozny⁴ thinks that the Indus population included Hieroglyphic Hittite, a non-Indo-European element (Subarean or Khurriṣh) and finally Cassites or Elamites. The dominant element was the Hieroglyphic Hittite who in the beginning of the 3rd millenium B. C. penetrated into the North-West India. The Proto-Indian Kushites are visibly distinct from the Hieroglyphic Hittite whose oldest habitat was somewhere in Trans-Caucasia, North Syria and East Asia Minor from the time when Hieroglyphic Hittite writing was not yet completely developed.....The regions of the Caucasus and the Caspian Sea were the original homes of many peoples Kash, Kush, etc.

(9) *Airyana Vaejo* of the Avesta has been identified variously with North Russia, the Arctic regions or the steppes of Turkistan and Balkh. Yima Khshatta, the son of Vivanghvant led the Aryan tribes to the south and settled in Seistan. The Indus script is derived from the Avestan.⁵

(10) Dr. N. M. Chaudhury⁶ has suggested that the Indus civilisation is due to the Pamirian Alphnes who were non-Vedic

1 Hawke. Foundations of Europe.

2 Waddell. The Makers of Civilisation. Aryan Origin of the Alphabet. Real Egyptian Chronology, etc.; Indo-Sumerian Dictionary.

3 Pran Nath. Illustrated Weekly of India, July, 27, 1935, ff. J.R.A.S., 1931.

4 Hrozny. Le Flambeau, Jan. 1940; I. H. Q. Dec. 1940.

5 Bulsara. Proc. Tirupati Xth Or. Conf. J. Ranade Ass. Madras, 1912.

6 N. M. Chaudhury. Modern Review, March, 1943.

Aryans. The Vedic Aryans who entered India later were not warriors but priestly clans opposed to the earlier Aryans who had no sacrificial ritualism though racially akin. Therefore the Indus civilisation is pre-Vedic but not non-Aryan.

(11) Mr. Aravamuthan¹ relying on the tradition preserved by Megasthenes that, Dionysos and Herakles had in remote times conquered India equates Dionysos with Soma and his companion Spatembas with Spitama Zarathustra. The interval between Dionysos and Alexander was 6451 years and three months. Thus the advent of the Aryans into India must have been in about 6777 B. C. and the parting of the Indian and Iranian peoples occurred about the same time.

Indian Home of the Aryans:

The theory of indigenous origin of the Aryans has been advocated by a number of scholars. M. M. Ganganath Jha has tried to prove that the original was the Brahmarṣi Deśa.² D. S. Trivedi³ suggests that the home of the Aryans was in the region of the river Devika in Multan. L. D. Kalla⁴ advocated the claims of Kashmir and the Himalayan region. K. M. Munshi⁵ shows that the region of the Sapta Sindhu (Brahmāvarta) was regarded as the original home created by the Gods (*davakṛtayoni, deva-nirmita deśa*).

The arguments may thus be summed up:—

- (1) No advance of the Aryans is reflected in the Vedas and there is no memory of an extra Indian home.
- (2) The linguistic affinities are not positive proofs of Aryan immigration.
- (3) Sacrificial ritual (including Aśvamedha) had long been established before the compilation of the Samhitā.⁶ Therefore the home of Soma the Muṣjavant or Munjavant hills in the north of the Punjab indicates the locality from which the sacrificial ritual developed.
- (4) The river Sarasvatī is known to the Vedic Aryans as having once joined the Sindhu (the sea,⁷ or

1 Aravamuthan. Q. J. M. S. Jan. 1914, p. .

2 Ganganath Jha. D. R. Bhandarkar Com. Vol.

3 Trivedi. A. B. O. R. I., XX.

4 L. O. Kalla. Proc. VIth Or. Conf.

5 K. M. Munshi. The Aryans in Gujarat.

6 P. V. Kane. History of Dharma Śāstra, Vol. II, pt. 1.

7 Rajwade. Words in the R̥g-Veda.

the river Indus). It is also known that later it disappeared near the Vinasana.

This geological phenomenon occurred in the later Pleistocene period. Due to the pressure of the Vindhya and the Himalayas changes of river beds occurred. The theory of Indo-Brahm (that the Brahmaputra flowed west to join the Indus and reach the Arabian sea) has been put forward.¹ The Sarawati flowed through the Punjab and Rajputana and joining the Sutlej and Indus flowed in the Arabian Sea. When the Yamuna widened its bed the waters of the Saraswati were drawn to it. The Rajputana desert was formed after the Pleistocene period. The old Saraswati bed now has a small stream (Sursuti) disappearing into the Thar desert.

Roth and Zimmer (*Altindischen Leben* pt. II) identify Saraswati with the Sindhu (Indus) in many passages. Other passages clearly refer to its disappearance. Therefore the Vedic peoples were aware of the vicissitude of the Saraswati from the later Pleistocene times to the recent (Holocene) times. If we take it that Saraswati flowed into the Rajputana sea, pleistocene times (30,000 or 25,000 B. C. according to A. C. Das²) are indicated.

- (5) It is argued that the tiger, a native of Bengal swamps is not mentioned in the Rg-Veda but the place of honour is given to the lion. Similarly the elephant mentioned as the *mrgahastin* shows that it was a novelty. These arguments cannot stand in view of the fact that Harappa civilisation of the Indus Valley shows little trace of the lion (supposed to be common in the Rajputana desert) but is fully conversent with the worship of the tiger and the elephant as indicated by the seals. If in about 3000 B. C. the elephant and the tiger were so well known in the Punjab, it is absurd to suppose they they disappeared so completely as not to be

1 Pilgrim. *Manuals of Miocene India*; Ind. Science Cong., 1925.

2 A. C. Das. *Rg-Vedic India*.

3 Cambridge *History of India*, Vol. 1.

mentioned in the Ṛg-Veda in c. 1500 B. C. The word *mṛgahastin* is merely a poetic term and does not imply novelty in the same way as "*parvatagiri*" for a mountain used in the same Ṛg-Veda, which clearly does not mean that mountains were strange to the Vedic peoples. Again it is said that rice is never mentioned in the Ṛg-Veda. Can we conclude that the consumption of salt was not known in the Ṛg Vedic times? Rice seems to have been unknown in the Harappa civilisation also. This only proves that *yava* (barley) and wheat were the staple cereals of the North West India.

Conclusion :

The Nadi Stuti (Ṛg. X) mentions the rivers Ganges, etc., from the east to the west. Ṛg-Veda knows only the land of the Sapta Sindhu and the most sacred place is Brahmāvarta bound by the Drasadvatī, Āpayā and Sarasvatī (Ṛg. III-23-4). The Mujavant hill—the house of Soma was very near. The Sarayū is also mentioned (Ṛg. IV-30-18; V-53-9).

The Aryan Homeland is therefore primarily Brahmāvarta (Eastern Punjab) and Brahmarṣi Deśa (Gaṅgā-Yamunā doab) and Ṛg-Veda knows the Mujavant hill in Kashmir in the north, probably the mouth of the Indus in the south or at least the confluence of the Sarasvatī and the Indus, the Ganges, the Yamunā and Sarayū in the east and the Kubhā, Gomati, Krumu and Rasā in the west. The Nirukta excludes Kamboja in the west and the Mahābhāṣya Surāṣṭra in the south. The Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa (24-121) gives importance to the country east of Vinaśana and west of Kālavana. Baudhāyana (Dh. Sū. I-I-27, 28) mentions the Gaṅgā-Yamunā doab as the sacred land. Vasiṣṭha (Dh. Sū. I-5-9; I-12-3) says that the sacred land is to the north of Pāriyātra and Vindhya¹. From Brahmāvarta and Brahmarṣideśa Aryan culture migrated to the west, east and the south in the early palaeolithic period. The conception of the rigid moral ordinance (*rta*) of Varuṇa and the regular phenomenon of glorious dawns (*uṣas*) can only have occurred in the plains of eastern Punjab², just as the storm-myths must have risen near the foot-hills of the Himalayas as Punjab in the rainy season has only gentle rains.

1 P. V. Kane. History of Dharma Sastra, Vol. II, pt. 1.

2 Zimmerman. Hymns of the Ṛg-Veda. Bom. Śkt. S.

III.

Ethnologists have attempted to identify dolichocephalic, tall blond peoples with the speakers of the Aryan languages. We shall show that the so-called "Aryan" race was never homogeneous. The assumption that the "Aryan" invaders when they entered India instituted a single pure ethnological group but later due to contact with the aborigines and the Dravidians the hypothetical "purity" was lost is unwarranted.

The Hindu Kush has to its north brachycephalic Iranian Aryans and to its south dolichocephalic Indian Aryans. The Pamir tribes are also styled Indo-Afghan and hence they belong to the "Aryan" race. Risley's classification of the population of India as Dravidian, Indo-Aryan, Turko-Iranian, Scytho-Dravidian Aryo-Dravidian (Hindustani), Mongoloid and Mongoloid-Dravidian is thoroughly discredited. Risley's Indo-Aryan type¹ is said to prevail in Kashmir, the Punjab from the Indus to Ambala and Rajaputana. "The stature is mostly tall, complexion fair, eyes dark hair on face plentiful, head long, nose narrow and prominent but not specially long"; i. e. tall dolichocephalic leptorrhins. Hadden² identifies them particularly with the Jats and the Sikhs. Von Eickstedt³ also concludes that the Jat-Sikhs are on the average dolichocephal-leptorrhine but among them are two distinct biotypes and three small phanotypes—two of these having affinities with the elements in Western Himalayas add the other showing "Dravidoid" mixture. Thus the people of Eastern Punjab are heterogeneous with a trace of West Asiatic (vonderasiatisch) elements. Hutton⁴ also thinks that in the uplands of Eastern Punjab and United Provinces (the Gangetic Valley) there is an Armenoid (West Asiatic) element. This Armenoid element is not confined to any caste in India or to any particular group but can be traced noticeably among the Brahmans and Banias and in the upland valleys of East Punjab and the United Provinces as well as among the Dravidian speaking people. Dixon⁵ also speaks of Mediterranean type in the Punjab. Marshall⁶ concludes that "as far back as its history can be

1 Risley. *Peoples of India*, p. 32 ff.

2 Haddon. *The Races of Man*, p. 111 ff.

3 Eickstedt. *Rassenelements der Sikh. Z. Für. Eth.* 1920-21, p. 335.

4 Button. *Census of India, 1931*, Vol. 1.

5 Dixon. *The Racial History of Man*.

6 Marshall. *Mohenjo Daro and Indus Civilisation*, Vol. I.

traced the population of Sind and the Punjab had been a blend of many diverse elements and there is no reason for assuming that it was other than heterogeneous in the earlier age (Indus civilisation) with which we are concerned".

Therefore the theory that "the Indo-Aryan came from Bactria, over the passes of the Hindu Kush into South Afghanistan and thence by the Valleys of the Kabul River, the Kurram and the Gomal into the North-West Frontier Province and the Punjab" is as unsupported by ethnology as by the evidence of archaeology and Vedic literature.

Hrozný's assumption that the Caucasus region was the original home is disproved by the fact that ethnically the people near the Caucasus and the Sea of Azov (Marinpol) were of the medium- or the long-headed type in the neolithic period, practising extended burial and in the copper age they had contracted burials and niche or catacomb graves and hence different from the Hittites who are assumed to be Armenoid brachycephals.¹

Pargiter's theory of Aryan immigration from the Himalayan regions in the north would lead us to suppose that a Mongoloid element formed a part of the earlier Aryan invading tribes, for even in the Indus civilisation there existed a Mongoloid element. The same objection holds good against Koppers' theory that the Aryan civilisation in India is a mixture of Inner Asian element from the east and of a southern from the Near East. We know that even Magadha in the east was considered outside the pale of Aryan civilisation in the Rg-Vedic period.

The Arctic home theory mainly rests on certain assumption as to climatic conditions. The Vedic passage like the prayers for "a hundred winters" do not necessarily imply memory of an original home in the northern colder regions.

That Sanskrita belongs to the *Satem* group of Indo-European languages is no proof of an extra-Indian origin of the Aryans. Many scholars out of national zeal have tried to identify the hypothetical Aryans with the speakers of the *Centum* or *Satem* groups of Aryan languages according to their bias. The European Aryans are supposed to have belonged to the *Centum* group and the Asiatics to the *Satem* group. But Balto-Slavonic and Albanian are

1 Dixon. The Racial History of Man.

also assigned to the *Satem* group. While Hittite, Tocharian (which is more *Centum* but Asiatic) and Thraco-Phrygian are considered to form the central Indo-European group.

The location of the Avestan "Airyano Vaijo" in North Russia or the steppes of Turkistan and Balkh is open to the same objection. The Avestan civilisation of the Atharvans reflects the development of Atharva-Vedic culture which in its earliest phases knows of no extra-India home.

The tradition of Dionysos and Herakles invading India in c. 6777 B. C. as preserved in the account of Megasthenes (Frag. 29) seems to be unreliable. Soma or Śiva of the Rg-Veda has only a remote resemblance to the wine God. Dionysus Eratosthenes and Strabo rejected these accounts as unhistorical. The "Bacchic" processions in honour of Śiva were held among other tribes by the Sydraksi of Stabe (XV. C. 687) who are identified with Oxydrakai or Kṣudrakas (Śūdrakas?) who occupied the plains where no wine grows. We cannot infer from this that Śiva was a conquering god, nor that Śiva the god of ascetics advocated wine-bibbing. If the reference is to Soma (the plant deified, Śiva or the moon) then it will have to be conceded that Soma-Śiva cult is Aryan. Megasthenes was told that 153 kings had preceded Candragupta Maurya on the throne covering a period of over 6000 years, the first king being the "most Bacchic" of the companions of Dionysus Spatembas who had been left behind when Dionysus retired from India to Bactria.

Conclusion:

The theory of autochthonous origin of the Aryans in India is the only satisfactory one consistent with all the available evidence and cannot be dismissed as an expression of Hindu Chauvinism.

IV

The identification of race with language has been responsible for the universally mistaken conception of the Aryans as primitive nomadic peoples who conquered the older and more civilised nations. Hawke assumes that the religious conception of the primitive Aryans underwent a profound change as a result of the compromise with the Mediterranean cults. "There was a compromise with the Megalithic religion. The skyward and sun-ward worship accompanying the Indo-European language blended with the earth-ward veneration of megalithic observances. In Europe the food vessel like the beaker was of the round-barrow type of the single grave as opposed

to the collective burial of the megalithic and long-barrow people. The Aryans contributed the pride of the Chieftain, the warrior cultures of the Kurgan, barrows single graves and the battle-axe. Sun-worship was accommodated to the megalithic fertility cult and earth religion. The Indo-European or Aryan language diffusion was due to the warrior peoples before and in the beginning of the Bronze Age. There was racial (Mediterranean, Alpine, Nordic) and cultural (German, Illyrian, Celtic, Italic, Mycenaean and Greek) fusion in the Middle Bronze Age (c. 1800 to 1400 B. C.)."¹

This assumes that the Aryan culture consisted of:

- (1) Sky-ward and sun-ward worship; and opposed to the megalithic earth-ward fertility cults.
- (2) burial in single graves and round barrows with a food vessel like the beaker; as opposed to multiple burials in long barrow-graves.
- (3) the pride of the Chieftain;
- (4) the warrior tradition;
- (5) the battle axe;
- (6) After C. 2300 B. C. the copper Age gave place to the early Bronze Age when the diffusion of the Aryan languages took place.
- (7) In the middle Bronze Age there came about racial and cultural fusion.

None of these assumptions hold good as regards Vedic culture.

(1) The Vedas no doubt give importance to the atmospheric deities like Dyaus, Varuṇa, Indra, Sūrya, Uṣas, etc., but equal prominence is given to Pṛthvī, Aditi, and other earth deities and rivers. The Ṛg-Veda has many references to the fertility cults and the worship of the Mother-Goddess. Many sacrifices which had been long established prior to the composition of the Ṛg-Veda are fertility cults. The Atharva Veda which is also Aryan and reflects the long-cherished beliefs has many fertility rites. These cannot be attributed to non-Aryan influence.²

(2) Vedic Aryans practised cremation mostly but also exposure to birds and burial in exceptional cases. Dr. Bloch identified the mounds at Lauriya Nandangarh in Bihar identified

1 Hawke. Foundations of Europe.

2 S. Srikantha Shastri. Proto-Indic Religion.

(*Arch. Sur. India.* 1906-7, pp. 199 ff) with Vedic burial mounds. The mounds were formed by horizontal layers of clay alternating with straw and leaves (Varuṇa's house of clay) with a post (Sthūpā) of salwood standing erect in the centre, above which was a deposit of human bones and charcoal. There was a small gold plaque, leaf-shaped, impressed with the figure of a female identified with the Vedic Earth-Goddess. The mounds were assigned to the seventh or eight century B. C. tentatively. If these are really Vedic mounds they show the practices of cremation and the burial of the calcined bones and also the worship of the Mother-Goddess. The Harappa funeral pottery, according to Mr. M. S. Vats¹, shows Vedic eschatological views. The association of a food vessel like the beaker with burials cannot be described as distinctively Aryan as such notions were prevalent in all ancient civilisations.

(3) There is no evidence that Vedic civilisation exalted a single warrior, for the Vedic king was only the foremost among equals (*primus inter pares*). Even in the latest period "we have no ground to suppose that there was a special class which reserved its energies for war alone and that the industrial population and the agriculturists allowed the fate of their tribe to be decided by contest between warrior-bands". The theory that Kṣatriya claim to supremacy was an Aryan trait as opposed to the claims of the priests, finds no support in the R̥g-Veda although pride of birth was naturally cherished even as the Brahmanas did.

(4) The warrior tradition is only a part of Vedic culture and cannot claim supremacy. It is a deliberate distortion of evidence to represent the frequent wars among the Aryans themselves and with the non-Aryans, as a normal feature of the times. Of the two Brahma and Kṣatra the former, representing peaceful penetration, predominated and the latter represented protection and consolidation. Hence the European warrior-tradition of a comparatively uncivilised people conquering and then absorbing the higher culture of the conquered has no parallel in Vedic tradition.

(5) The battle-axe supposed to be characteristic of the European warrior-folk is a development of the "axe", which was taken from the Sumerians. The Cretan double-axe which

1 M. S. Vats. Excavations at Harappa.

2 Cambridge History of India, Vol. I.

became a cult object has been found in ancient Egypt. We have already shown that the Vedic *parasu* or *parsu* (rib-bone) can not be assumed to have been borrowed from a Semitic civilisation. Thus the battle-axe was known in both Aryan and non-Aryan civilisations and the possession of it by the warrior-folk of Europe does not necessarily prove that it was solely an Aryan characteristic.

(6) The diffusion of Aryan languages in Europe is said to have occurred in the beginning of the Bronze Age (c. 2300 B. C.). Presumably its diffusion in India occurred in c. 1500 B. C. This argument runs counter to the assertion of the protagonists of the European origin of the Aryans that R̥g-Vedic civilisation knows only copper. If the immigrating Aryans in the middle Bronze Age entered India between 1800-1500 B.C. they could surely have brought with them a knowledge of Bronze also.

It was once assumed that in North India the Stone Age was succeeded by one of copper and that there was no Bronze Age. In South India there was no Copper Age, the Stone Age being immediately succeeded by Iron. The general introduction of iron in North India is said to have occurred in c. 1000 B. C.¹ But this former theory has been conclusively disproved by the discovery of numerous bronze vessels in the Harappa civilisation.

Racial Fusion:

(7) We have already shown that the "Aryans" either in India or elsewhere constituted ethnologically a pure race, though there was a predominant dolichocephalic element. Both the Caspian and the Mediterranean races are dolichocephalic, with narrow face and nose, large brain capacity and no prognathism. The only difference between the two is that the former are hypsicephalic and the latter chamaecephalic. Among the superficial characteristics the Mediterraneans are supposed to be shorter in stature, darker-eyed and brunet rather than fair in colouring. The difference between the two is only of degree, not enough to justify the classification of the Mediterraneans as a separate "race". Nor was there a difference in the

1 *Ibid.*

original habitat of the two races. The homeland of the Caucasian people is supposed to be the great Eur-Asiatic steppe region of South-eastern Russia and South-western Siberia, whereas the earliest focus of dispersion of the Mediterranean type seems to have been the region of the eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea adjacent on the southwest to the Eur-Asiatic homeland of the Caspian peoples. "The Mediterranean type very early spread through Western Europe possibly in part by sea along the shore. Eastward it seems to have penetrated far into the heart of the Caspian region and to have drifted with these peoples as an associated but never dominant element". (Dixon, *The Racial History of Man*, p. 487). It is thus clear that the two races have been long blended, with the Caspian element predominant. In 3000 B. C. in the Harappa civilisation they were already in contact with the brachycephalic Proto-Austroloid, Mongoloid and Alpine stocks. The "Dravidians" are not Mediterraneans but brachycephalic Alpines according to Dixon. This is only a hypothesis unsupported by somatic measurements. The Todas and Nairs belong to the Caspian-Mediterranean stock though they use a Dravidian language.

Thus racial fusion in India as well as in the rest of the world cannot be said to have occurred in the middle of the second millenium B. C. but even in far remote times.

Cultural Fusion:

Before we deal with the alleged cultural fusion in the middle of the Bronze Age in Europe and still later in India after the so-called Aryan invasion of India, we shall first investigate the archaeological evidence in Europe.

The cultural and racial expansion of the warrior-folk in Europe is said to have occurred thus: Dixon¹ has shown that the present distribution of the Caspian type is in very widely separated regions—the purest and the largest element being in the region now occupied by the Eskimo, the second important region being the northern and north-eastern Africa and the third area being the south-eastern coast of America and the fourth being Scandinavia and Great Britain. As a minority it exists along the western margin of Europe, around the southern end of the Caspian Sea and in northern India, Tibet, China, Micronesia and New Zealand. The

1 Dixon. *Racial History of Man*, p. 483.

type was present in Egypt since early Pre-Dynastic times and appeared in western Europe towards the end of the palaeolithic period, coming apparently from the last and during the whole of the Neolithic period and later they increased greatly, finally concentrating in the region of the Baltic and Western Russia where they fused with other types to form the Baltic or the "Nordic" race. In the Bronze Age and probably long before the Caspian type was dominant in the populations of southern Siberia, having reached China and Japan by the second millenium B. C. or thereabout, peoples of this type came in large numbers into northern India from the north-west.

The Mediterranean type is now found in any considerable strength or purity, in a rather limited area—Arabia, northern Africa, southern Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, the Iberian peninsula. It is of minor importance in North Western India. It appeared in Western Europe first in the Aurignacian period of later palaeolithic times coming apparently along the coast of the Mediterranean. It was strongly represented in the Nile delta in the earliest Dynastic period but only after the Eighteenth Dynasty became a dominant factor in Upper Egypt. It was the preponderant type in the earlier Minoan periods of Crete and prominent in the Bronze Age in Southern Siberia.

The Palae-Alpine Race of Dixon (brachycephalic hypsicephalic platyrrhine) and the Mongoloid (brachycephalic chamaecephalic platyrrhine) originated probably in southern Mongolia, Eastern Turkistan and Tibet. The Palae-Alpine type contains both a Negroid and non-Negroid elements and appeared in Europe at the beginning of the Neolithic period and even earlier. They were overwhelmed by the Alpines in the Bronze Age.

The Alpine stock had its earliest home in the western Asiatic plains even as the Palae-Alpines had the eastern. Though the Alpines arrived in Europe as early as the Palaeolithic times they became important only towards the end of the Neolithic Age. In the Bronze Age they reached southern Arabia and possibly at the same time or later they passed from the Iranian plateau along the western coast of India, leavening the mass of Proto-Australoids and Proto-Negroids and leading other development of the early Dravidian culture, the brachycephalic Brahūis being perhaps rear guards of the ancient movement¹.

1 *Ibid.*

Difussion of Warrior-Culture in Europe :

The archaeological evidence is as follows :—

The earliest known home of the warrior-folk was near the Ukraine and the steppes distinguished by single graves, contracted burials, ochre colour, corded pottery and the beaker and the battle-axe. Ethnically the people near the Caucasus and the sea of Azov were of the medium- or long-headed type in c. 2500 B. C. The cord-impressed pottery persisted long in this region which had direct contact with Mesopotamia across Armenia and Persia¹. In Armenia² also rows of medium- or long-headed type lay extended or on clay with shell and bone ornaments, axes and knobbed mace-heads of stone. The absence of pottery shows that they were still hunters. In the Kurgans of South Russia there is evidence of the transition from the Neolithic to the Copper Age. The pastoral and agricultural people had the "clan" system, round-bodied pottery with copper implements of Sumerian forms—the flat dagger, poker-butted spearhead, curved rod pins, the shaft-hole axe and the adze. The copper axe-adze was introduced into the Anatolian and Aegean region before the end of Early Minoan II. Its spread in Rumania and Hungary was due to the invasion of the warriors from the steppes who brought barrows, contracted burials (that had succeeded the extended burials of the Neolithic times) and the ochre stain. They also dominated Tray II. C. (c. 2300 B. C.) and shared the city's downfall in c. 2300 B. C.³ The stone battle-axes and globular pottery current in south Russia spread in the north-west to Calicia and Poland (globe amphora upto the Harz). The migration of the globe-amphora.....into Germany shows the ultimate contact with the Caucasus and the stone and the battle axe dominates the region from Germany to the Black Sea. In Hungary in contact with the half nomad Nordic people with the funnel beaker pottery of Northern Neolithic, a half-nomad culture was formed. The invaders maintained the eastern rite of barrow burial with the typical stone-cist, ochre stain, stone-battle axes, copper adze and knobbed stone, mace-heads. In the True Copper Age

1 Childe. *The Dawn of European Civilisation* 1939. *The Aryans*. New Light on the Most Ancient East, 1939.

2 Brittel. *Prehistorische Forschungen in Khenasien*, 1934.

3 Blegen. *Am. J. Arch.* Vols. 38 and 41.
22 भा. वि. मा. .

(2200-2000 B. C.) painted pottery was renewed from the Black Sea to Galicia. But the painted pottery tradition was again destroyed in 2000 B. C. by the warrior folk and this culture leads to the Russian Bronze Age¹. The horse came with the warrior folk. The eastern Przewalski type of horse is found on Maikop silverware². The horse was a draught animal at first and the Asiatic practice of riding it came later.

The warrior-folk mixed with the Danubian Aegean and produced the Thessalian and Early Helladic cultures³. The connection with Troy was still maintained upto c. 2100 B. C. The earliest wheel-made pottery in Greece, the Grey Minyan ware is in imitation of Trojan silverware⁴. After the destruction of Troy II (c. 2300 B. C.) the Anatolian Hittites brought Indo-European dialects from north-west Anatolia. Troy III and IV were poor villages but in Middle Helladic times (2100-1700 B. C.) the invaders introduced the Greek languages linked with the European Aryan speakers.

Further west the warrior folk who were no longer nomads, lived in good timbered dwellings and came not as destroyers.⁵ The single grave, contracted burial under round barrows, the faceted stone battle-axe, the tall cord-ornamented beaker now resembling the globe amphora were their characteristics. They penetrated into Italy introducing Indo-European speech.⁶ The corded ware tradition met the bell-beaker tradition which came from Spain in c. 2200 B. C. and the zoned beaker was produced.⁷ "The Megalithic civilisation with the extravagant cult of the dead, Atlantic trade, the passage grave introduced by the merchant colonists from Iberia was not native to the bell-beaker people who had a deliberate tabu against sea-voyage. But due to contact with the Megalithic people this prejudice was overcome and a section crossed the English Channel into Wessex".⁸

1 Golomshtok. Transactions Am. Philoso. Soc. 1938.

2 Hanson. Early Civilisation of Thessaly, 1933. Heartley: Prehistoric Macedonia, 1939.

3 Myers. Who were the Greeks?, 1930; Childe. The Bronze Age, 1939.

4 Blegen. Am. J. Arch. Vols. 38 and 41, p. 563 to 595.

5 Hawke. Foundations of Europe, 1939.

6 Forssander. K. H. V. Lund Arsberathelsa, 1938-39, III.

7 Castillo. La Cultura del Vaso Compani forme, 1928.

8 Hawke. Foundations of Europe, 1939.

Europe in the early Bronze Age had the following elements: the northern corded ware and other warrior-cultures and the bell-beaker people in the region of the Danube; the Baden culture, stone cists and barrows in northern Europe; the Otomani, Wittenberg and Monterau cultures in Hungary and Rumania;¹ in northern Italy the Alpine culture of the Lake-dwellers and the Remedello culture of the warrior-folk;² in central Italy the Apennine culture and a Terramara culture due to fresh invasion from the Alps, bringing cremation and "urn-fields" and horse-riding for the first time in Europe.³

In the middle Bronze Age after the fall of Troy VI and the rise of Mycenae (1600-1400 B. C.), there were fresh incursions from the Kurgans of South Russia responsible for the Lanswitz culture. The Lanswitz people are identified with the Celts whose original home was to the east of the Rhine. The Tumulous culture folk are Proto-Celts who mixed with the Urn field to become the Celts of historic times. Bronze Age Britain is therefore Celtic.⁴

Thus we have traced the movements of the warrior-folk (who were only one among many other peoples to possess the Indo-Aryan languages) from the steppes of South Russia and the Ukraine into the western and northern parts of Europe. Racially the dolichocephalic element was predominant and they represented the mixture of two dolichocephalic types—Caspian and Mediterranean. Culturally they had contact with Mesopotamia. Chronologically these warrior-folk started from their home-land in c. 2300 B. C. and destroyed Troy III, Early Cycladic III and Early Helladic III).

The classical Hittites are conjectured to be brachycephals from their sculptures but their language was derived from the Hieroglyphic Hittite, the original common language Indo-Hatti. The Hittites had contacts with the Finno-Ugrian and Uralic speech to the east and also with the Caucasian and Near Eastern tongues to the south.

In the Caucasus, the Ossetes⁵ unlike the other people of the region speak an Indo-European language related to Avepine

1 Sprockhoff. *Die Nordische Megalithic Kultur*, 1938.

2 Peeta. *Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy and Sicily*, 1909.

3 Peake and Fleure. *The House and the Sword*.

4 Hawke. *Foundations of Europe*.

5 Dixon. *The Racial History of Man*.

and are dolichocephalic Cespians with a mixture of Alpine brachycephal.

In Iran¹ there were three cultures according to Herzfeld: (1) The Iranian Highland culture extending from Baluchistan to the Tigris (creating the Al Ubaid culture), (2) the Anatolian and Trans-Caucasian culture extending in the east up to North Persia and in the west to Early Minoan Crete and south to Sumer, creating the Uruk period of Sumerian culture, (3) the Subarths culture of the fair-haired Subareans (Tell Halab), the earliest settlers in Assyria, extending from south Turkey to some Point east of Tigris (probably responsible for the Jemdet Nasr Culture). Thus the three phases of Sumerian Pre-Dynastic culture are derived from Iran. The dominant element was dolichocephalic "Caspian-Mediterranean" blend. Not only in the later Dynastic period Sumerian culture but also at Nineveh, Arpachiya, Tepe Gawra and Tell Billah the three elements are found. The Iranian highlands therefore were the source.

But the real source is further east. The Hindu Kush as already indicated is a natural ethnological and linguistic dividing line—its northern slopes being occupied by the brachycephalic Iranian speaking peoples and its southern peoples being dolichocephals speaking the Sanskritic languages. The Kaffirs of the Hindu Kush speaking very archaic form of Indo-European language are dolichocephalic—the Caspian-Mediterranean type being dominant. The Balochis and the Brahuis—the former with an Indo-European language and the latter with a Dravidian language are like the Pathans, brachycephalic with a minority of Caspian-Mediterranean type and an equally important proto-Negroid-Proto-Australoid factor (lacking in the Pathans). The Paisāchī or Kho dialects form another link. ●

Conclusion :

Thus we have traced the " Aryans " to India.

Racially the Aryans formed a blend of the Caspian and Mediterranean dolichocephals. The Palae-Alpine, Alpine, Proto-Negroid and Proto-Australoid elements were in the minority. The Nal skulls showing affinity with the Kish I are Caspian-Mediterranean. In the Harappa cultures we have the Caspian-Medi-

1 Herzfeld. Tepe Hissar; III. L. Nawa Mar, 26, Nov. 12, 1932, Jan. 28, 1933.

2 Dixon. The Racial History of Man.

terranean the Alpine, the Proto-Australoid and the Mongoloid types in c. 3000 B. C. or earlier, according to recent excavation¹. Thus we can fairly conclude that long before the Harappa civilisation racial and cultural mixtures had taken place and that the "Aryan" (Caspian-Mediterranean dolichocephals) had their original home in the region extending from the south of the Hindu Kush to Brahṇāvarta—a conclusion supported by Vedic evidence also.

Chronological Data :

In the Vedic literature the astronomical references have been discredited by some scholars on the ground that the 'nakṣatras' mean mere lunar mansions pure and simple and that a knowledge of the procession of the equinoxes was absent. But the astronomical references cannot be dismissed on such assumptions.

Tilak's Chronology² :

- I 10,000–8,000 B. C. Destruction of original Arctic Home in the last Ice Age.
- II 8,000–5,000 B. C. Pre-Orion (Aditi) period. Vernal equinox in Punarvasu. Migrations (Rg. I–161–13. Ardra).
- III 5,000–3,000 B. C. Orion Period. Vernal Equinox in Mṛgaśira.
- VI 3000–1,400 B. C. Kṛttikā Period. Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa.

Jacobi³ :

4,500–2,500 B. C. c. 3000 B. C.—Origin of Dhruva cult. Rg. VII–103; X–85 Atirātra begins Rainy season. Dakṣiṇāyana in Phālgunī c. 4000 B. C.

Ketkar⁴ :

Agastya legend—c. 7,000 B. C. *Tai. Br.* and Rg IV–50–4. Puṣya with Jupiter, 4,650 B. C. Between 3100–1400 B. C.—Solar calendar with 4 year cycle. B. C. 1400–300 A. D. Lunisolar calendar—five year cycle. From 300 A. D. Jovian cycle of 12 and 16 years.

1 Mackay. Further Excavations at Mohenjo Daro; M. S. Vats, Excavations at Harappa.

2 B. G. Tilak. The Arctic Home in the Vedas, 1925.

3 Jacobi, Ind. Ant. XXIII, p. 154.

4 Ketkar, Proc. 1st Or. Conf, Poona.

R. Shama Shastri¹:

10,020 to 6, 180 B. C.	—Pravargya Age
5,220 to 4, 260 B. C.	—R̥g Samhitā
3,300 B. C.	—Yajus, Atharva Samhitās
2,340 B. C.	—Brāhmaṇas.
1, 380 B. C.	—Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa.

J. C. Roy²:

Śata. Br. II-1-2. Before 3000 B. C.

P. C. Sen Gupta³:

Before 3,600 B. C.

S. V. Venkatesvara⁴:

Tr̥ta killing Vṛtra and beginning the new year and R̥g.
VI-55-4—11,000 B. C. for R̥g-Veda.

R. K. Patankar⁵:

Tai. Sam̐ I-5-5-3. Śata Br. II-3-12. Reference to
Citrā beginning the autumnal equinox—11,000 B. C.

Zimmerman⁶:

3 millenium B. C.

R. G. Bhandarkar:

Iranian separation from the Vedic Aryans—2500 B. C.

Max Müller:

Assumes a uniform two hundred years of development of the
Vedic language.

Walther Wüst⁷:

Grammatical tests—Relative frequency of

- | | |
|---|-----------------------|
| (1) | (2) Vṛddhi in second- |
| ary nominal formations, (3) date suffixes; (4) com- | |
| pound words of various types; (5) reduplication— | |
| intensive, desiderative, onomatopoeic forms and āmre- | |
| ḍita; (6) words formed with prefixes; (7) diminu- | |
| tives; (8) playing on number; (9) adjectives denoting | |

1 R. Shama Sastri. Gavām Ayana. Drapsa; My. Un. Mag. 1931, p. 199-210.

2 J. C. Ray. Ind. Cul. VI, No. 1.

3 P. C. Sen Gupta. Rama Kṛṣṇa Com. Vol. 3, J. R. A. S. B., IV, 1938.

4 S. V. Venkatesvara. Proc. VIth Or. Conf; Proc. Vth Or. Conf.

5 R. K. Patankar. Bk. Iti. Sam. Mandal. Q. June 1939.

6 Zimmerman. Hymns of the R̥g-Veda. Bom. S. S.

7 Walther Wüst. Stilgeschichte und chronologie des R̥g-Veda, 1928.

metres ; (10) adjectives with philological and theological meanings ; (11) adjectives of exaggerated intensity of expression ; (12) compounds of identity.

Therefore the order of the Rg Books is—earliest IX (c. 1500 B. C. ; IV-III-VII ; II-VI ; V ; VIII ; I ; X (c. 100 B. C.).

Conclusions from Vedic Evidence :

(1) The earliest phase of Rg-Vedic Culture is Neolithic as is evident from the use of stone, bone and wood implements in the sacrifices (before 11,000 B. C.).

(2) The astronomical data show the development of the Samhitas from c. 10,000 B. C. to c. 4,500 B.C. The Brāhmaṇas—from c. 4,500 to 3,000 B.C. (Mahābhārata period).

(3) The Atharva Veda culture is reflected in the Proto-Indic civilisation (c. 4,000 to 2,700 B. C.).

(4) Vedic Gods in the Boghaz köi and Mitannian records and the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa c. 1400 B. C.

Purāṇic Evidence:¹

Bhārgava Teachers: From Bhṛgu to Vaiśampāyana = 94 generations.

Yādavas: 62 from Yādu to Kṛṣṇa and Sāmba.

Ayodhyā: 88 from Ikṣvāku to Bṛhadbala (son of Janamejaya) : Bṛhadbala to Śākya and Śuddhodana—25.

(Approximately 2500 years, for about a hundred generations before the Mahābhārata war = c. 5,500 B. C)

1 Pagriter. Ancient Indian Historical Tradition. Dynasties of the Kali Age ; N. Tripathi I. H. Q. IX, No. 2-3.

The Varuṇa Hymns in the Ṛgveda

By Dr. V. M. Apte.

TRANSLATION I. 25. (7)

Who knows the track (*padām*) of birds that fly through the air ; who (as) the resident of the ocean (*samudrīyaḥ*) knows (the *padā* or 'track') of the ship (*nāvāḥ*).

NOTES I. 25. (7)

(C) The construction of this Pāda in the translation is the only possible one, if we are not to tamper with the accentuation of the two words: *nāvāḥ* (the accent makes this out to be a Gen. Sing.) and *samudrīyaḥ* [the accent shows this to be either the (i) Nom. sing. of *samudrīya* (adjective from *samudrā*) or (ii) the Acc. Pl. of *samudrī* (the feminine adjective in *ī* from the masculine stem *samudrīya*). Grasman regards *samudrī*, however, as a feminine of an adjective *samudrā-* and *samudrīyaḥ* as the Acc. Pl. of it.] If we take *samudrīyaḥ* as an Acc. Pl. (Fem.), then it must qualify *nāvāḥ*, which in its turn must be deemed an Acc. pl. *against its accent*, thus giving us the beautiful parallelism of 'ships on the sea' to 'birds (flying) through the air'. But once the liberty of ignoring the accentuation in the traditional text is taken, there is no knowing where it will lead! The construction in the translation is the one given by Sāyana and followed by Geldner and Müller (*Ancient Sanskrit literature*). Oldenberg seems to have overlooked this accent difficulty, when he argues for *samudrīyaḥ* as Acc. Pl., agreeing with *nāvāḥ* (also Acc. Pl.)! But non-interference with the traditional accentuation of *nāvāḥ* as a Gen. Sing. is not the only merit of the construction in the Translation, as I propose to show now.

The use of *nāu* in the singular is, *in my opinion, far more appropriate than* in the plural! What is referred to here, is not 'ships that ply on an earthly sea', but the one and only ship of *ṛtā* referred to in IX. 89. 2, which Varuṇa in preeminently fitted to know all about, both as lord of the surrounding atmospheric or cosmic ocean and as holding the special charge of *ṛtā*! The passage I. 140. 12 should carry conviction regarding the construction in the Translation which supplies *padām* after *nāvāḥ* in (C), from *padām* after *vīṇām* in (a). It reads: "Grant us, Agni, a ship with its own rudders and endowed with a track (*padvātīm*) for our chariot and our house—a saving ship which may serve as a shelter for us". It is this very *singular* ship, on which Varuṇa places Vasiṣṭha (VII. 88. 3 4); which the poet hopes to mount by the favour of Varuṇa, so that he may get over all dangers (VIII. 42. 3); which is *yajñīyā* (X. 44. 6); which as a *divine ship*, non-leaking, well-cared and flawless (X. 63. 10); which is self-luminous (X. 105. 9), which is the ship that carries to safety across all haters (VIII. 16. 11), and on which the Sāman is placed when it follows the chariot that is wheelless (X. 135. 4). It seems to have escaped attention that out of forty (40) occurrences of the word *ndu* in the RV, the singular is found in thirty-four! For the propriety of *samudrīyaḥ*, referring to a god, of IX. 107. 16: *rājā devāḥ samudrīyaḥ*. The epithet should be particularly appropriate to Varuṇa who as the lord of the Waters is connected with all rivers, seas, and oceans. See the notes on v. 10 of this hymn, regarding the peculiar character of the Waters, Varuṇa rules over.

TRANSLATION I. 25. (8)

The upholder of the *vrātās* knows the twelve months with (their) progeny; he knows (the one) that is born thereto (i. e. the intercalary month).

NOTES I. 25. (8)

(b) The meaning of *prajā*—(in *prajāvataḥ*) as “the days and nights constituting the months”, is made almost certain by I. 164. 11 which mentions the seven hundred and twenty sons (*putrāḥ*), standing in pairs (days and nights), of the unaging wheel of *ṛtā* (the year) with its twelve spokes (or months). Other interpretation of *prajā* are: (i) ‘All that is born therein’—Sāyaṇa. (ii) The months are so-called, because each one of them has a progeny in the form of the month that succeeds it. (iii) The twelve months with the intercalary (13th) as their offspring or joint production, are called thus.

TRANSLATION I. 25. (9)

He knows the pathway of Vāta, of the wide, lofty (*ṛṣvāsya*) and mighty (Vāta); he knows (those) who abide (there) on.

NOTES. I. 25. (9)

(C) That the Maruts are meant here is rendered almost certain by the following considerations: I. 161. 14 mentions the *antārikṣa* [the intermediate space or air, or the vault of the sky, which is the same thing as the *nāka*], as the special sphere (of activity) of Vāta and heaven (*dyū*) as the domain of the Maruts. I. 19. 6 specifies the relative positions of Vāta and the Maruts in the Cosmos, by describing the latter as the gods, who abide in heaven on top (*ādhi*) of the light of *nāka* which (as mentioned above) is the same thing as the *antārikṣa*, the special domain of Vāta. V. 58. 7 tells us that the Maruts harness the Vātas as posses to their yoke. This ‘overriding’ of the winds by the Maruts (which is to be understood in a *spatial* sense) constitutes a close association of the two deities, in their movements—an association referred to, for example, in VIII. 7. 3 & 4.

TRANSLATION I. 25. (10)

Varuṇa the upholder of the *vrātās* has sat (himself) down, upon the Waters (*pastyāu*) for (the exercise of) sovereignty—the highly wise one.

NOTES. I. 25. (10)

(b) Pischel has shown (Ved. Stud. ii) that *pastyā*, f. (to be distinguished from *pastyā*, n.) means ‘river’ in the Sing. and ‘Waters or Rivers’ in the Plural. Bloomfield criticizes this on the ground that in VIII. 25. 8 (a stanza imitative of ours) no water is mentioned (but only *kṣatram āśatuḥ*) and that a further parallel, the *nivid* stanza in the form of an unanswered riddle: VIII. 29. 9, says that the seat of Mitra and Varuṇa is high in heaven. Such criticism arises from a misconception of the true nature of the Waters ruled over by Varuṇa. In a paper entitled “The Natural Basis of Varuṇa in the Ṛgveda” submitted to the 13th All-India Oriental Conference (Nagpur, 1946), the writer has advanced the proposition that this natural basis is the aerial or Celestial Waters. These waters turn out on closer inspection to be not merely rain-waters or terrestrial waters but also and chiefly, elemental watery vapours (*pūrīṣa*) which because of their vital role in the Cosmogony and Cosmology of the ṚV deserve to be called ‘Cosmic Waters’ forming the medium

for the transmission of light or the passage of the luminaries, so long as their circulation was uninterrupted. So the seat of (Mitra and) Varuṇa could be 'high in heaven' and at the same in the [All-pervading ether-like Cosmic] *Waters*.

TRANSLATION I. 25. (11)

From there, the Observant one views all (things) mysterious—(things) that have been done and that have to be done.

NOTES. I. 25. (11)

(a) 'From there (*ātaḥ*)' i. e., from his seat in the *pastyāsū* (Waters). *ādbhuta* (oxyt. in I. 120. 4) is [as Neisser in *Zum Wörterbuch des Rgveda* points out from: *dbhu* [cf. *ānatidbhutā* in VIII. 90. 3b and Bezzenberger (*BB* 3. 171) thereon] and means really 'that on which one can get no hold', and so 'wonderful, extraordinary, secret, mysterious'. In IV. 2. 12, where it is contrasted with *dīśyān*, it means 'invisible'. *Kārtvā*: Acc. Pl. of *Kārtva*, neuter- the Future passive participle (Gerundive) in *tvā*, almost restricted to the R.V.

TRANSLATION I. 25. (12)

May the highly wise Āditya make good paths always (*viśvāhā*); may (he) promote our lives.

NOTES. I. 25. (12)

(a) *Viśvāhā*: 'always' or 'everywhere' This form may be explained thus (See Oldenberg, Whitney and Grassman):—It is hardly distinguishable in sense from *viśvāhā*, metrical requirements dictating the choice of either form. The latter is used when a short penultimate is necessary at the end of a pāda or immediately before the caesura. The final vowel (-hā) appears shortened before a double consonant in the R.V. Secondly, the adverbial suffix *hā* in *Viśvāhā* probably represents original *dhā* [*viśvādhā* and *viśvādha* corresponding to *viśvāhā* and *viśvāha*] and gives the meaning, "in all places, everywhere" to the word. On the other hand, *viśvāhā* ('always'), though, owing to its close relation to *dhā* *viśvā* is really equivalent to *viśvā dhā* ("all days") keeps only a single accent like a compound owing to its contamination by the adverb: *viśvādhā*. The latter adverb is, in its turn, contaminated in its sense, by the two members ("all" and 'days') of the compound-like formation: *viśvādhā* and means 'always'!

TRANSLATION I. 25. (13)

Wearing a golden mantle, Varuṇa has (also) put on a shining robe (*nirṇīj*); round about, the Spies have sat down.

NOTES I. 25. (13)

(a) Varuṇa is described as 'dressing himself beautifully' in V. 48. 5. A simile in IX. 90. 2 tells us that Varuṇa wears the Sindus. (as a garment). If we remember now that Sindhu (VIII. 26. 18) and Sarasvatī (VI. 61. 7) have a 'golden path or bed', that Sindhu is 'golden' or 'rich in gold' (X. 75. 8), and that the Waters (which is certainly what is meant by *yahvīh*) are called *hiraṇya-varaṇāḥ* in II. 35. 9, it should follow that the golden waters form the 'golden garment or mantle' mentioned here as Varuṇa is the lord of the Waters. (b) The 'shining robe' is evidently the 'glossy garment of fat (*ghṛtāśya nirṇīj*)' with which M. and V. clothe themselves (V. 62. 4; VII. 60. 1).

TRANSLATION I. 25. (14)

(Varuṇa) whom the malevolent do not wish to harm, nor the haters of men; the god (whom) the plotters (against men) (do) not (wish to harm).

NOTES I. 25. (14)

(b) *jānānām* is objective genitive. This word should be understood with *abhlāmātayaḥ* in (c), as *abhlāmātir jānānām* in X. 69. 56 shows.

TRANSLATION I. 25. (15)

And (Varuṇa) who has brought [*ā cakré*] plenty (*yásas*) in its entirety (*āsāmi*) unto men (*mānuṣeṣu ā*), (brought plenty) unto our (very) bellies (*udāreṣu ā*).

NOTES I. 25. (15)

(b) In view of the fact that the word *yásas* is used with *udāreṣu* also in (c), it must have here the sense: 'plenty, abundance' or 'nourishment (like the milk of the cow)'—a sense which it certainly has, in some passages e. g. *yásāsā góḥ* in IV. 1. 16d means 'with the brilliant (milk) of the cow'; *madrtasya yásāsā* in V. 8. 4d means 'with the brilliant (offering) of a mortal'; in the simile, *yáso ná pakvám* (ripened) *yásas* must mean *something edible*; (cf. also IX. 81. 1 and III 62. 1) although its usual sense is 'glory, splendour, treasure, blessing' etc. That *yása cakré* should mean 'obtained glory' instead of 'conferred glory', because of the closely parallel passage X. 22. 2 [as Bloomfield and Geldner hold] is not convincing. These two scholars as well as Hillebrandt and Oldenberg trace Varuṇa's later connection with dropsy to this verse and to VII. 89. 4! In the opinion of the writer, these two verses are capable of a perfectly natural explanation (see, for example, the translation above), which leaves no room for a reference to dropsy! No such sordid touch is to be suspected in the sublime poetry that we find in the Varuṇa hymns of the Ṛgveda. The employment of the word *yásas* in the two apparently inconsistent contexts;—(i) 'among men' and (ii) 'in our bellies', is capable of another explanation also. The poet may have deliberately, used the word *yásas* in its two senses:—'glory' and 'plenty'. Such puns are by no means foreign to the technique of Ṛgvedic poets. The repetition of *ā* in each of the three pādas of this Gāyatrī stanza is an example of the same tendency! In the first and third pādas, it is undoubtedly an adnominal preposition (or post-position) connected with the two locatives: *mānuṣeṣu* and *udāreṣu*. Its repetition in (b) can be explained in two ways: (i) either as a particle emphasizing in the sense of completeness, words expressive of number or degree, like *āsāmi* and therefore giving the sense 'by no means half' or (ii) as an adverbial preposition modifying the sense of the verb-form *cakré* ('made') into 'brought', as is done in the translation.

āsāmi [literally not *sāmi* (Cf 'semi'), 'not half',] may be construed in our verse, either as an adjective going with *yásas* or as an adverb.

TRANSLATION I. 25. (16)

Away go my thoughts, like cows to (their) pasture-lands, seeking the wide-visioned one.

NOTES I. 25. (16)

It has been already noted (in the notes to v. 4) that the parallelism of his verse to v. 4 is so striking as to determine almost the meaning of *vimanyavaḥ*

in the latter verse. For example, the simile in (b): 'Cows (eagerly) going to the pasture-lands' corresponds to the simile in *v.* 4c; 'birds (eagerly) flying to their nests'. Further our (i) *pārā yanti* (ii) *dhātāyaḥ* (iii) and *icchantīḥ urucākṣasam* correspond to (i) *pārā pātanti* (ii) *vimanyavaḥ* and (iii) *vāsya-istaye* respectively of verse 4.

TRANSLATION I. 25. (17)

Let us (two) now again talk together, (now) that (*yātāḥ*) thou partakest, like a Hótr, of the dear meath presented (on) my (behalf).

NOTES I. 25. (17)

(b) The word *mádhu* is etymologically identical with the Greek 'medū' ('inebriating drink') and Anglo-Saxon 'medu', 'mead'. In connection with the Ásvins, who of all the gods are the most closely connected with honey, the term has this original sense of 'honey' or 'mead' (cf. especially I. 112. 21; X. 40. 6; 106. 10). It is also used in the very general sense of 'anything sweet used as food and (especially as) drink'. Thus the term is used of milk (*páyas*), ghee (*ghṛtá*) and especially of the Soma juice, so that when Soma means 'Amṛta' (the divine ambrosia), its mythological equivalent is *mádhu*. Thus Soma is figuratively described as the juice of honey (V 43. 4) and we meet with the expression *soṃyam mádhu* ('Soma mead'). When the juice of Soma is called *madhumat* ('honied'), 'Soma sweetened with honey' seems to have been the original meaning, because some passages IX. 17. 8; 86. 48; 109. 20) actually describe such admixture: If then (as the etymology suggests) *mádhu* is an Indo-European drink, its place seems to have been taken in the Indo-Iranian period by Soma (Haoma) and its survival in the Vedic period is probably due to its amalgamation with Haoma. (C) Oldenberg was the first to offer a solution of the so-called puzzle regarding the accent or *kṣádase* (which rules it out as the finite verb in a principal clause) when he proposed "*b c* is deutlich ein durch *yātāḥ* eingeleiteter Satz". Since therefore *kṣádase* becomes the verb of the subordinate clause introduced by *yātāḥ* and extending over the two *pādas* (b) and (c), its accent becomes regular and there is no need to account for it, by taking the word as a Dative Infinitive and then to emend *hóteva* into *hótre va* or into *hótrevā*. Geldner's interpretation of the whole verse is different and important enough to be noted here. The verse (in his opinion) refers not to the ritual of a Soma sacrifice but to the drinking of the Soma by a patient: by way of atonement and as a medicine; hence the comparison with the ritual in (c). He compares X. 83. 7 and I. 179. 5 for such drinking of the Soma. He therefore translates the verse thus: "We would now both talk again to each other about it, wherefore the sweet draft has been brought to me, to taste thereof in the manner of a Hótr (who tastes of) his favourite (drink)". Geldner cites V. 43. 3; VIII. 94. 6. and X. 94. 2 to show that in an earlier age, the Hótr was the first to drink of the Soma.

TRANSLATION I. 25. (18)

Now will I see (Varuṇa) to whom all (things) are visible (*viśvadarśa*) *tam*); I will see his chariot on earth; may he accept these songs of mine.

NOTES I. 25. (18).

(a) *darśam* in (a) and (b) may either be the (1. S.) *a*-Aorist with the augment dropped or the (*a*-aorist) Injunctive of *drś*, 'to see', I prefer the second alternative [cf. the aorist Injunctive *vocam* with *nú* ('I will now proclaim') in I.

32. 1]. If the first be adopted, *juṣata* in (c) will have to be taken as an Imperfect (without the augment) rather than as an Injunctive from the Imperfect base (as is done in the Trans.) The remarkably parallel pāda: *agnīr juṣata no gīrah* (VII. 15. 9b) inclines us to take *juṣata* and therefore *dārśam* as Injunctives. The argument that after v. 17 (where the god is described as partaking of the meath), the Aorist ('I have seen') is more natural is valid but *not compelling*. A consistent and continuous account or narrative is not to be insisted on, even within the limits of a *treca*, in the RĠV! The construction (Aorist in the first two pādas and Imperfect in the third) however, is quite possible and is favoured by the very intimate relationship of the devotee with the deity (especially Varuṇa) which is so poetically described in VII. 88. 2-6. The translation therefore may also be "Now have seen V.....; he has accepted my songs". *viśvā-darśatam*: *darśata* is a Primary Nominal Derivative with the suffix *ata* giving the sense of the Gerundive. The compound can be explained in two ways (I have preferred the second way in the Trans.) as Sāyaṇa does: (i) *viśvāiḥ darśatām* = "worthy of being seen by all" or (ii) *viśvam darśatām, aśya -a Bahuvrihi* = "to whom, all is visible". Sāyaṇa points out that the accentuation of the last syllable of the first member of the compound is in the two alternatives explained by Pāṇini 6-2-106-2 and 6-2-106 respectively. The point is that the original accent of the first member *viśva-* is always shifted to the final syllable. 'To see the god who sees everything' is a more striking and poetic idea than 'to see a god worthy of being seen by all'.

TRANSLATION I. 25. (19)

Hear, O Varuṇa, this invocation of mine and be gracious today; seeking help, I long for thee.

NOTES I. 25. (19)

(C) *Cake*: 1: S Pf. A. from the root *kan* or *kā*, IV, 'to be delighted or pleased', 'to love'; with the preposition *ā*, it has the sense 'to desire, to yearn for'; Cf. I. 40. 2d and VIII. 64. 8c: *īndram ka u svid ā cake* and it governs the accusative of the object (the god) of longing.

TRANSLATION I. 25. (20)

Thou, O Wise One, rulest over all—over heaven and over earth; as such, listen (to my invocation) on (thy) way (*yāmani*).

NOTES I. 25. (20)

(b) *gmadḥ* is Gen. Sing. of *gām*, f. 'earth' as *divāḥ* is Gen. Sing. of *dyāu* [the weak grade of *dyó*; the Gen. Sing. of which is *dyóḥ*.] The verb *rājasi* governs all the three Genitives in the first two Pādas. (c) Oldenberg has conclusively established (Noten II. 85-6) that *yāman* is 'Fahrt' (= passage, journey, way, or course), going along which, a god is generally invoked as being easily accessible. As he remarks, to propose the special meaning 'the right moment' or 'the hour of heed' for a few passages (as Geldner does in his *Glossar*) is to multiply meanings without adequate justification. Geldner himself apparently saw the force of Oldenberg's criticism and reverted to the perfectly natural and adequate meaning of 'Fahrt' in his *Übersetzung*. But. Prof. Paranjpe (BSS. LVIII. 3rd edn) argues back to Geldner's earlier meaning! The substance of his

contention is as follows: (i) "In I. 112. 1 and X. 46. 10, *yāman* occurs in connection with Agni, who is not a journeying god in the RV". This is not correct. Agni is *definitely a journeying god* in the RV. He is not only compared to but also directly called 'a steed or a horse [I. 36. 8., 149. 3., VI. 12. 6; II. 4. 2; 5. 1; III. 27. 3; VII. 7. 1; I. 60. 5 etc.] He is the eagle of the sky (VII. 15. 4); a divine bird (I. 164. 52). The course, path or track [*yāman* or *varāni*] of Agni is referred to in II. 4. 6; VI. (ii) When he says "In X-77. 8^d *yāman* and *adhvare* have been used as synonyms, our reply is that although there is uncertainty in that passage regarding the interpretation of *mahāh* [which I connect with *yāman*, as in my article "*Apropos of mahāh, in mahō rāyē and in other passages, (BDCRI II)*], scholars are generally agreed on distinguishing between the two words, by understanding the Pāda to refer to the Maruts hastening in their chariots and interpreting it as 'quick on their path *yāman* and delighting in the sacrifice *adhvare*. (iii) *yāmāsaḥ* in V. 3. 12 which according to the Professor must refer to 'prayer, appeal or something like it' has been interpreted by Oldenberg (ISBE XLVI) as 'processions' and rightly too. To sum up, among the passages in which he would understand the word as 'an appeal to the gods' or 'an appeal made at or through the sacrifice' the passages: V. 53. 16; VII. 22. 26; 85. 1 only admit of the meaning proposed earlier (in his Glossar) by Geldner and supported by the Professor. It must be conceded, however, in favour of Prof. Paranjpe's subtle and elaborate argument that if *yāman* is a Primary Nominal Derivative from *yā* and if the root *yā* is certainly used in the sense 'to approach (a god with prayer)' there is no reason why in some passages at least the meaning 'appeal to a god' favoured by the Professor should not be appropriate.

Unfortunately the Professor himself has not advanced this point. In V. 73. 9th in particular, where the word occurs thrice, I suspect that the poet intends a *play on the word in its two senses*: (i) 'the passage of the Aśvins and (ii) (prayerful or sacrificial) approach to them'! It may be noted finally, that the word primarily denoted 'the periodic round' of the Aśvins chiefly and also of the Maruts, Indra and Varuṇa.

TRANSLATION I. 25. (21)

Loosen our uppermost (fetter), (in an) upward (direction); cut off (*vī*) the middle fetter; (loosen) downward, the lowest (bonds) that we may live.

NOTES I. 25. (21)

For the propriety of the three prepositions *ul*, *vī* and *ava* used with verbs, meaning 'to loosen' and 'to cut' etc, see the remarkably parallel verse: I. 24. 15 and notes thereon, where information regarding the position of the three fetters on the person of the fettered sinner and the three different ways of disentangling them, will be found. (c) What is to be supplied after *adhamāni*, which is a Neuter plural? The only word available in the verse is *pāsa* and it will not do, being a Masc. Sing. Among the other words, expressive of 'restraint' or 'fetters' and used in connection with Varuṇa's bonds are: *abhiśu raiśmān*, *raiśmī śūśu* and *śūśu* which are all masculine; *raiśant* which is Feminine; *syāman* and *dāman* which are Neuter and may, therefore be supplied in our verse. Another word to be thought of, in this connection is *aghāni* ['sins' — a Neuter plural] which

occurs in association with *pāśa* in II. 29. 5°: *āre pāsā āre aghāni devāḥ*. Best of all would be *enāmsi* ('sins')—a Neut. Pl.—spoken of as *if they were fetters*, in I. 24. 14^d: "Loosen from us (*śīsrathah*) the sins committed (by us)".

It is to be noted that the verb *śrath* ('slacken') used here, is the very one used in connection with *pāśa* in I. 24. 15.

‘Kirāṭa’

In *Bhāratiya Vidyā*, VIII. Nos 3-4, April 1947, pp. 74-75, Prof. Bhogilal J. Sandesara has an interesting Note on the word ‘Kirāṭa’ as meaning ‘a deceitful merchant’. To the references noted by him may be added those in the Satires of the Kashmirian Kṣemendra, who mentions the ‘Kirāṭa’ as a sub-species of the predatory Kāyastha. I may refer here to my article on the Kāyastha in the *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VI. No. 7. Oct. 43, pp. 160-162.

V. RAGHAVAN

Regd. B.—4850

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BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN

BOMBAY

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NOTES AND NEWS

Bharatiya Itihasa Samiti : History of India

The History of India continued to maintain the progress it has achieved so far. All chapters for the first four volumes have been received and edited, and three volumes are ready for the press.

Press-copy of the fourth volume is being prepared. Only a very few chapters still remain outstanding in the next six volumes, and they are expected to be in our hands in the next few days. The disturbances in the Punjab affected our contributors who had to leave everything behind. They have, however, promised to send their chapters (in Vols. VII onwards) within the next three months. The editorial work is getting on quite well.

For this achievement, the personal interest, guidance and attention to every minute detail of Shri K. M. Munshi is no less responsible than the willing and active cooperation of all contributors. Dr. Mujumdar, the General Editor and Dr. Pusalkar, the assistant Editor have devoted themselves exclusively to this work, and have spared no pains to make the history thorough and perfect, and to bring it out expeditiously.

Press-copy of the first volume was sent to the Publishers in England as early as in last October, and the volume was vetted there by the well-known historian Dr. Rawlinson. Printing work had to be deferred due to prevailing conditions in England, but the Publishers have recently informed us that they have taken up the volume for printing. Press-copy of the second volume is on its way to England to Dr. Rawlinson for being vetted, and the next volume also will soon follow. Once the printing has begun, the first volume may be expected to be out in the next few months, and the subsequent volumes will appear at regular intervals.

Sanskrit Mahavidyalaya

The third convocation of the Examinations of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan held on 30th November, 1947 marked the conclusion of a triumphant period in the scheme of our Examinations. Starting with our own Sanskrit Mahavidyalaya as a centre, the Examinations

can now claim centres scattered throughout the province numbering about a score. The humble beginning was in itself a handicap for the scheme coupled with the indifference that is paid by various institutions conducting similar examinations. In spite of adversities it has grown from strength to strength and it would be no exaggeration if we say that the scheme has rooted itself in the Oriental field of studies. The success, the scheme attained during the one year of its life brought forth recognition from the Panjab University to be followed by similar recognitions. Today the scheme attracts hundreds of students from different parts of the province and its progress gives us every reason to hope that it will, in years to come, occupy the position that it deserves in this part of the country. Our efforts too are dedicated to the achievement of that end.

The Samskrit Mahavidyalaya is the radiating centre of our Educational activities and is headed by Pandit Raja Acharya T. A. Venkateswara Dikshitar and is ably assisted by a band of Pandits qualified in various Shastras. Students at present taking advantage of this institution though number about 50, are brought up in the healthy traditions of our ancient past, devoid of all its outmoded phases. Among them are resident students who are provided with boarding, lodging and free tuition and day scholars who get scholarships varying from Rs. 40/- to Rs. 16/-.

The Examinations conducted by this institution are Prave-shika, Madhyama, Shastri, Acharya and Vachaspati with a number of specialised Shastras. During the past two years 133 students have appeared in these examinations out of whom 121 students were declared successful and conferred the certificates and the diplomas.

Gita Vidyalaya

This is a separate institution under the Bhavan devoted to the popularisation of Gita, the eternal fountain of inspiration for generations in this country. To put it in a nutshell its object is the popularisation of Gita through Examinations, lectures and publications. The new building of the Bhavan now under construction will also contain a Gita Mandir and a Hall for public lectures.

This institution conducts the examinations of Gita Pravesh, Gita Vid and Gita Visharad. We are glad to notify that in these examinations the college students seem to show a greater interest.

This is a healthy sign and to give an impetus to it the Bhavan has been giving the students declared successful from the M. M. Arts College and N. M. Institute of Science, Andheri a scholarship of Rs. 20/- per examination. Our records of examinees at the end of the current year go to show that 245 students have appeared for the various examinations in Gita out of whom 216 have been declared successful. The successful candidates are given prizes, certificates and diplomas.

BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN'S
Megji Mathradas Arts College & Narrondass Manordass
Institute of Science,
Andheri (1947-1948)

The College opened its second year on June 20th, 1947. The number of students in the college has gone upto 700 as against 529 of the previous year. The women-students in the College number more than 100, of whom 40 stay in the Ladies' Hostel. About 250 students are residents of the Boys' Hostels.

The College has Junior B. A. and Junior B. Sc. classes this year, and will have Senior B. A. and Senior B. Sc. classes from June, 1948. The College now is a full-fledged one—teaching courses leading up to the highest degrees in the University, including M. Sc. and Ph. D. in some subjects.

The College has a well-qualified and long-experienced teaching staff. Consequent upon the resignation of Dr. Bool Chand on October 18th, 1947, Professor V. N. Bhushan has been appointed the Acting Principal of the College.

The College offers many free-studentships, half-free-studentships, merit scholarships and Gita scholarships. The College Gymkhana has provision for many major and minor games and sports, indoor as well as out-door.

The Second Annual Gathering and Prize Distribution of the College was celebrated on 23rd December, 1947 with the Hon'ble Chief Justice Mr. M.C. Chagla as the Chief Guest. Mrs. Chagla distributed the prizes. The function was a conspicuous success.

During this academic year, our President, Shri. K. M. Munshi, visited the College many times, addressed the staff and students of the College, and had personal contacts with them.

. . . 9th Jan. 1948 .

Bharatiya Sangit Shiksha Peeth

Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan's "Bharatiya Sangit Shiksha Pitha" was opened in July 1946. Due to communal disturbances its activities were restricted to only conducting the daily classes which were attended by only about 40 students in those three months. The strength of the Shiksha Peeth, however, is slowly but surely growing so much so that to-day as many as 80 students are attending. Admission was limited to only 75 students for want of accomodation.

Among other activities the Shiksha Peeth has been able to organize public demonstrations periodically practically every fortnight, which have been of great help in instilling confidence in our students who have been participating in these demonstrations. Many artists in the musical sphere were invited to sing during these concerts. Prominent among these were Khan Sahib Ali Akber Khan of Jaipur, Pandit Ram Nath Nepali of Nepal, Shrimati Sumati Mulatkar of Nagpur and Mr. K. G. Ginde of Lucknow.

In July 1947 Bharatiya Sangit Shiksha Peeth Day was observed by students and well-wishers of the Shiksha Peeth and Principal Ratanjankar's vocal music performance was arranged. Principal Ratanjankar was, however, not able to sing due to sudden illness and in his place Khan Sahib Vilayet Hussain was requested to sing. Khan Sahib did not accept any remuneration for his performance which was held on July 6th. Principal Ratanjankar's performance of Vocal Music was, however, held in the last week of July.

On September 19th an assemblage of the élite in the musical sphere gathered at the call of Bharatiya Sangit Shiksha Peeth, at the "Anandashram Hall", Tardeo, to commemorate the Eleventh Death Anniversary of Late Pandit Vishnu Narayan Bhatkande, the great scholar and musician. Dr. D. G. Vyas, who presided, Principal of the Shiksha Peeth, Prof. Baburao Gokhale and Mr. Sushil Kavlekar were among the prominent speakers who paid tributes to Panditji for the unrivalled service he had rendered to the cause of musical art by his self-less devotion, untiring research and bringing sacred art within the reach of average man.

Nearly one hundred artistes including a number of well-known professional musicians participated in the programme of music which followed soon after the speeches. The salient features of the programme were Mrs. Sushila Nādkarni's "Adāṇā", Prof. B. R.

Deodhar's "Variety of Bahār", the "Kathak" dances by Miss Rohini Wagle, Kumari Kalyani Rai and Miss Kumudini Pai, the Sitar performance of Shri Ravishankar, Vilayet Hussain Khan and and Principal Nagarkar's Gopikā Vasant".

The fact that so many artistes readily conceded to participate in the 50 hour programme without accepting any remuneration speaks well for the popularity of the Shiksha Peeth and its staff.

The Shiksha Peeth are conducting their classes in the Fellowship High School premises at Gowalia Tank, daily from 5-30 P. M. to 8-30 P. M.

A new section of the Shiksha Peeth, that of Tabla classes is to be opened within a period of one month and Pandit Taranath Ram Rao is appointed as the Head of this department.

Indian Culture Essay Competition

The Bhavan invites original essays on any aspect of Bharatiya Samskriti (Indian Culture) written in Samskrit, Hindi or English for the annual Essay Competition which has been started in 1942. This year six gold medals (each of the value of Rs. 150/-) and six silver medals (each of the value of Rs. 25/-) are to be awarded. One gold medal and one silver medal will be awarded the best and second best essays respectively received under each of the groups mentioned below. The branches of study given below in brackets are neither exhaustive divisions of the groups nor topics for essays in themselves, but are intended only to give a general idea of each group to a layman.

- (1) Religion and Philosophy (Buddhistic, Jaina, Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, Sāṃkhya-Yoga, Vedānta, Mīmāṃsā, Vyākaraṇa etc.)
- (2) Art and Architecture (Brahmanical, Buddhist, Jaina etc.)
- (3) Languages, Literature (Samskrit, Prakrit, Apabhraṃśa, Modern Indian Vernaculars, Dravidian etc.), Linguistics and Literary Criticism.
- (4) History (Political)
- (5) Social and Economic order
- (6) One gold and one silver medal have been specially donated for the best and next best essays on 'Bhagavad-gita and Life'.

CONDITIONS.

1. The Essays must be submitted by the end of June 1948 for the year 1947 and by the end of December for the year 1948.

2. Each essay must cover approximately 150 pages of foolscap sheets typed in double spacing (single side only)

3. The copyright of the gold medal essays will vest in the Bhavan subject to minor privileges to the authors.

4. The manuscript which should have temporary binding must bear the nom-de-plume of the contributor on the cover page and strict care should be taken to avoid disclosing the identity of the contributor. A sealed envelope bearing the nom-de-plume of the competitor on the outside and containing a slip giving his name and full address as also the nom-de-plume should be sent along with each essay.

5. Each contributor is allowed to choose the subject he prefers.

6. The decision of the judges selected by the Bhavan will be final.

7. Though every care will be taken of the MSS no responsibility attaches to the Bhavan in respect of them and authors are advised to keep duplicate copies with them.

Results of the 1946 Examination.

The essays were examined by Principal Shri Ram Sharma, D. A. V. College, Sholapur, Prof. Ramnarain V. Pathak, Professor of Gujarati, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan's M. M. Arts College & N. M. Institute of Science and Shri Durgashanker K. Shastri. The results are given below:

Gold Medal.

S. P. Sangar Esq., M. A.
Lahore.

"Crime and its punishment
under Shahjahan and
Aurangzeb"

Silver Medal.

Shri Atrideva Gupta
Jamnagar.

"Hamare Bhojanki Samasya" (Hindi)

Shri A. H. Ramachandra, B. A.,
Bombay.

"A dash through Hindu
morals."

Candragupta Maurya and the Greek Evidence

By Prof. D. R. Mankad

The modern students consider the Greek evidence to be very decisive in establishing the synchronism between Alexander and Candragupta Maurya. I shall, therefore, first, quote all the passages from the Greek writers, which refer to Xandrames or Sandrocottus and then consider the whole question afresh. The Greek writers, who speak anything about Xandrames or Sandrocottus are Diodorus (1st cent. B. C.), Quintus Curtius Rufus (c. 40 A. D.), Plutarch (c. 50 A. D.), Justin (4th cent. A. D.), Arrian (2nd cent. A. D.), Strabo (1st B. C.), Appian (c. 123 A. D.) and Athenaios. I shall reproduce below the statements of these writers as they are given by Mac Crindle in his book 'The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great'.

Diodorus (1st century B. C.) [Book VII, ch. XCIII; p. 281-2¹].

"He (= Alexander) had obtained from Phêgus a description of the country beyond the Indus: First came a desert which it would take twelve days to traverse; beyond this was the river called the Ganges which had a width of thirty-two stadia and a greater depth than any other Indian river; beyond this again were situated the dominions of the nation of the Praisioi and the Gandaridai, whose king, Xandrames, had an army of 20,000 horses, 200,000 infantry, 2,000 chariots and 4,000 elephants trained and equipped for war. Alexander, distrusting these statements, sent for Pôros and questioned him as to their accuracy. Pôros assured him of the correctness of the information, but added that the king of the Gandaridai was a man of quite worthless character and held in no respect, as he was thought to be the son of a barber. This man the king's father—was of a comely person, and of him the queen had become enamoured. The old king having been treacherously murdered by his wife, the succession had devolved on him who now reigned."

Quintus Curtius Rufus (c. 40 A. D.) [Book IX, ch. II; p. 221-2]

"Having therefore requested Phegus to tell him what he wanted to know, he (= Alexander) learned the following particulars: Beyond the river lay extensive deserts which it would take eleven days to traverse. Next came the Ganges, the largest river in all India, the further bank of which was inhabited by two nations, the Gangaridae and the Prasii, whose king Agrammes kept in field for guarding the approaches of his country 20,000 cavalry and 200,000 infantry, besides 2,000 four-horsed chariots, and, what was the most formidable force of all, a troop of elephants which he said ran up to the number of 3,000.

All this seemed to the king to be incredible, and he therefore asked Porus, who happened to be in audience whether the account was true.

1 The page numbers refer to Mac Crindle's book mentioned above.
24 भा. वि. मा.

He assured Alexander in reply that, as far as the strength of the nation and kingdom was concerned, there was no exaggeration in the reports, but that the present king was not merely a man originally of no distinction but even of the very meanest condition. His father was in fact a barber scarcely staving off hunger by his daily earnings, but who, from his being not uncomely in person, had gained the affection of the queen and was by her influence advanced to too near a place in the confidence of the reigning monarch. Afterwards, however, he treacherously murdered his sovereign, and then, under pretence of acting as guardian to the royal children, usurped the supreme authority, and having put the young princes to death begot the present king who was detested and held cheap by his subjects, as he rather took after his father than conducted himself as the occupant of the throne."

Plutarch (c. 50 A. D.) [ch. Lxii; p. 310]

This river (i.e. the Ganges), they heard, had a breadth of two-and-thirty stadia, and a depth of 100 fathoms, while its further banks were covered all over with armed men, horses and elephants. For the kings of Gandaritai and the Praisai were reported to be waiting for him with an army of 80,000 horse, 200,000 foot, 8,000 war chariots and 6,000 fighting elephants. Nor was this any exaggeration, for not long afterwards Androkottos, who had by that time mounted the throne, presented Seleukos with 500 elephants, and overran and subdued the whole of India with an army of 600,000 men.....Androkottos himself, who was then but a youth, saw Alexander and afterwards used to declare that Alexander could easily have taken possession of the whole country since the king was hated and despised by his subjects for the wickedness of his disposition and the meanness of his origin."

Arrian does not mention Xandrames or Sandrokottos by name.

Justin (2nd cent. A. D.) [Book XV, ch. IV, p. 327]

"..... Seleucus Nicator waged many wars in the east after the partition of Alexander's empire among his generals. He first took Babylon, and then with his forces augmented by victory subjugated the Bactrians. He then passed over to India, which after Alexander's death, as if the yoke of servitude had been shaken off from its neck, had put his prefects to death. Sandrocottus was the leader who achieved this freedom, but after his victory he forfeited by his tyranny all title to the name of liberator, for he oppressed with servitude the very people whom he had emancipated from foreign thralldom. He was born in humble life, but was prompted to aspire to royalty by an omen significant of an august destiny. For when by his insolent behaviour he had offended Alexandrum, and was ordered by that king to be put to death, he sought safety by a speedy flight, when he lay down overcome with fatigue and had fallen into a deep sleep, a lion of enormous size approaching the slumbrer licked with its tongue the sweat which oozed profusely from his body, and when he awoke, quietly, took to departure. It was this prodigy which inspired him with hope of winning the throne, and so having collected

a band of robbers, he instigated the Indians to overthrow the existing government. When he was thereafter preparing to attack Alexander's prefects, a wild elephant of monstrous size approached him, and kneeling submissively like a tame elephant received him on to its back and fought vigorously in front of the army. Sandrocottus having thus won the throne was reigning over India when Seleucos was laying the foundations of his future greatness. Seleucos having made a treaty with him and otherwise settled his affairs in the east, returned home to prosecute the war with Antiochus."

Appian (p. 404) speaking of Seleukos says, "And having crossed the Indus, he warred with Androkottos, the king of the Indians, who dwelt about that river, until he entered into an alliance and a marriage affinity with him."

Strabo (first cent. B. C.) [II, 1, 9; p. 408] says, "Both of these men were sent to Polimbothra, Megasthenes to Sandrokottos and Dêimachos to Allitrochades, his son," and in XV, 1, 36 repeats the statement as concerns Megasthenes. In XV, 1, 53 we read, "Megasthenes, who was in the camp of Sandrokottos, which consisted of 400,000 men, did not witness on any day thefts reported which exceeded the sum of 200 drachmai and this among a people who have no written laws, who are ignorant even of writing and regulate everything by memory." Lastly, in XV, 1, 57 we read, "Similar to this is the account of Enotokotai, of the wild men, and of other monsters. The wild men could not be brought to Sandrokottos, for they died by abstaining from food."

Arrian (p. 405) in his *Indika* (ch. 5) says, "But even Megasthenes as far as appears, did not travel over much of India, though no doubt he saw more of it than those who came with Alexander, the son of Philip, for, as he says, he had interviews with Sandrokottos the greatest king of the Indians, and with Porôs who was still greater than he."

[Mac Crindle notes, "A slight emendation of the reading (suggested by Sehwanbech) restores the passage to sense making Arrian say that Sandrokottos was greater even than Porôs]

Athenaios [p. 405] mentions him Sandrokottos) in his *Deipnosophists* (ch. 18d): "Phylarchos says that among the presents which Sandrokottos, the king of the Indians, sent to Seleukos were certain powerful aphrodisiacs.

From these various accouts, modern scholars have drawn the following conclusions :

(1) Xandrames and Agrammes are but two varriants of one and the same name, i. e. they refer to the same person.

(2) Regarding Xandrames and Sandrokottos (i) some scholars say that both the names refer to the same person viz. Candragupta Maurya, (ii) while others say that Xandrames refers to the Nanda king whom Candragupta Maurya had uprooted and Sandrokottos refers to Candragupta Maurya himself.

Let us, therefore, examine the Greek evidence collected above, dispassionately and impartially. Regarding the first question of Xandrames

and Agrammes referring to the same person, it can be said, without any fear of contradiction, that though phonetically the names seem to differ much, they refer to one and the same king; for the details given by Diodorus about Xandrames and those given by Curtius about Agrammes are absolutely identical. The names seem to differ in their first parts, one having Xandra and the other having Agra. Correct name, of course, seems to be Xandrames. We know that Sandrocottos of other writers is spelt Androcottos by Plutarch. Similarly Xandra may be spelt as Andra and scribal indifference may further corrupt it into Agra. At any rate, whatever be the form of the name, it is certain that both the names refer to the same person.

We shall, now, examine the other question of the identity of Xandrames and Sandrocottos.

Diodorus speaks of Xandrames only. According to him, when Alexander was in the Punjab, Xandrames was actually ruling in Eastern India. This Xandrames, according to him, had come to the throne after the old king had been murdered. Therefore, according to Diodorus, there will be two successive kings—(1) the old king, who was already killed before Alexander came to the Punjab, and (2) Xandrames, who was actually ruling when Alexander was in the Punjab. Curtius also says the same thing. Therefore, according to both these writers, first ruled the old king and then ruled Xandrames.

Other writers do not mention either the old king or Xandrames. They speak of Sandrocottos only. Now, we should remember that just as both Diodorus and Curtius are clear on the point that Xandrames was ruling when Alexander was in the Punjab (see expressions like, “—on him who now reigned”—D., and “—present king” used twice by C for Agrammes), both Plutarch and Justin are clear on the point that Sandrocottus had come on the throne after Alexander left India. Plutarch uses the words, “not long afterwards” which clearly mean not long after Alexander left India. Justin is clearer. According to Justin, the events of Sandrocottus’ life occurred in the following order. He was “prompted to aspire to royalty by an omen”. This omen occurred when Alexander was in India. After this omen, Sandrocottus collected ‘a band of robbers’ and attacked Alexander’s prefects, which could only be after Alexander left India. And after this, that Sandrocottus came to the throne. Thus it is clear that Sandrocottus came to the throne after Alexander left India.

In fact Xandrames is mentioned in relation to Alexander only and Sandrocottus in relation to Seleucos only. There is no statement which makes Xandrames a contemporary of Seleucos or Sandrocottus a contemporary of Alexander. Therefore, according to the Greek writers Xandrames is distinct from Sandrocottus, the former having preceded the latter on the throne.

Thus we get references to three successive kings of Eastern India, viz. (1) The old king, (2) Xandrames and (3) Sandrocottus. And Strabo supplies

one more name, that of Amitrachates, the son of Sandrocottus. Thus the secession stands thus :

The old king
|
Xandrames
|
Sandrocottus
|
Amitrachates

I shall, now, put together the details of the lives of the four kings of the Eastern India, they are found in the above accounts.

THE OLD KING

He is mentioned by Diodorus and Curtius only. His name is not mentioned by either. The following points are to be noted about him. (1) He was ruling before Alexander came to India. (2) His queen had fallen in love with a barber of comely person. (3) This barber had become a favourite of the old king. (4) The old king was treacherously murdered either by the queen (D) or by the barber (C).

XANDRAMES

He is mentioned by Diodorus and Curtius.

(1) He came to the throne after the murder of the old king. However, the two writers seem to differ in one point. According to Diodorus, when the old king was murdered 'the succession had devolved' on Xandrames, which would mean that Xandrames came to the throne immediately after the murder of the king. Curtius, on the other hand, clearly says that after murdering the old king, the barber acted as the regent and he (=the barber) actually begot Xandrames after the murder. This would mean that after the death of the old king, the barber was supreme for several years till Xandrames, who was born after the old king's death, came to age. Xandrames, according to this, must have come to throne several years after the death of the old king.

(2) But both Diodorus and Curtius are clear on the point that Xandrames was the ruling king when Alexander was in the Punjab.

(3) Xandrames was held in no respect because he was thought to be the son of a barber.

(4) This barber, his father, had won the love of the queen of the old king.

SANDROCOTTUS

He is mentioned by all the writers, except Diodorus and Curtius.

(1) He came to the throne after Alexander left India i. e. after Xandrames was dead.

(2) According to Plutarch and Justin, he had seen Alexander, when he (Sandrocottus) was young i. e. not crowned. According to Justin he had offended Alexander and was ordered to be put to death, but he fled from Alexander and thus saved himself.

(3) According to Justin, Sandrocottus had not come to the throne, evidently of Eastern India (i. e. Magadha), in natural course of succession, but had to acquire it by his own exploits. He was without a throne. He, then gathered a band of robbers, instigated the Indians to overthrow the existing government and thereafter fought with Alexander's prefects. He, then, conquered Magadha. This account means that Sandrocottus had fought with and overthrown the Greek prefects and had won himself the throne of Magadha.

(4) As he won the Greek prefects, he was considered a leader and a liberator of his people.

(5) He, then, (according to Plutarch) overran and subdued the whole of India.

(6) He had a fight with Seleucos, in which the latter was defeated and a treaty was made between the two.

(7) According to Justin, though he was the liberator of his people, he had forfeited all title to the name of a liberator by his tyranny, for he oppressed with servitude the very people whom he had emancipated from foreign thralldom.

(8) According to Justin he was born in humble life.

(9) It was at his court that Seleucos had sent Megasthenes to Pataliputra.

AMITRACHADES

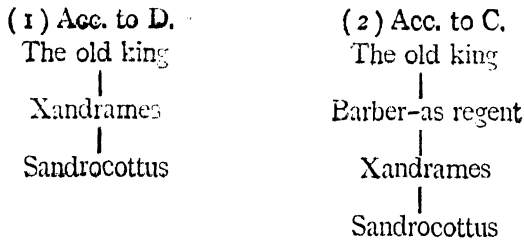
(1) He was the son of Sandrocottus.

(2) In his days had come as an ambassador.

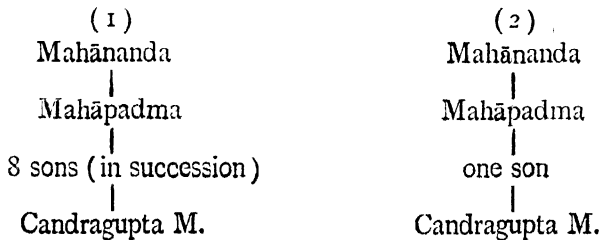
Having kept in mind these details about these kings as given by the Greek writers, let us, now, see if we can identify them with any of the Indian kings known to us. Other scholars have already tried to solve this question. Till recently the tendency was to take Xandrames and Sandrocottus to be the same person and then to identify him with Candragupta Maurya. But recently scholars have started distinguishing between Xandrames and Sandrocottus. These scholars take Sandrocottus to be the same as Candragupta Maurya and Xandrames to be the Nanda king. Therefore let us go into details.

I must make it clear, here, that it is impossible to take Xandrames and Sandrocottus to refer to the same person. This, as we have seen, definitely goes against the very clear testimony of the Greek writers, who definitely treat Xandrames and Sandrocottus as two distinct persons. If these two names refer to the same person, how is it that some writers (D. and C.) take him to be ruling when Alexander was in India and others (Pl. and J) take him to have come to the throne after Alexander left India? It is only after flagrantly disregarding the Greek evidence that we can take Xandrames and Sandrocottus to be the same person. I, therefore, do not admit their identity. Let us, then, consider the question considering these two as two different persons, come to the throne of Magadha one after the other.

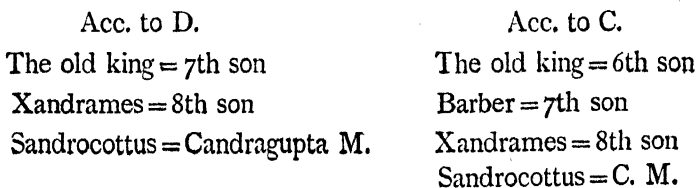
But, here, we meet with one difficulty. Did Xandrames succeed the old king immediately? Here we get two distinct statements. According to Diodorus, the old king was immediately succeeded by Xandrames and according to Curtius, after the murder of the old king, the barber had acted as the regent for some years and then it was that Xandrames came to the throne. Thus we get two Greek views about the succession.



Now, according to Indian sources, we know of the following successions of the Nandas and Mauryas. (1) Mahānanda (2) Mahāpadma (3) 8 sons of Mahāpadma (4) Candragupta Maurya and (5) Bindusāra. But I must here note that though the Indian sources say that 8 sons of Mahāpadma ruled in succession, it is possible that, in reality, only one son of Mahāpadma had ruled. Thus we shall get the following successions :



Let us, first, take that 8 sons of Mahāpadma had ruled in succession and then identify the kings named by the Greek writers, according to the views of D and C both. In this case, if we identify Sandrocottus with Candragupta Maurya, we must identify Xandrames with the 8th son of Mahāpadma, and the old king with the 7th son of Mahāpadma : or according to Curtius, Sandrocottus will be the same as Candragupta Maurya, Xandrames the same as the 8th son, the regent barber the same as the 7th son and the old king the same as the 6th son. That is,



But these equations do not fit in with the Greek accounts. For, if we accept the view of Curtius, we will have to say that the 7th son of Mahāpadma was a barber and that this seventh son had murdered the 6th son ; but for both these assumptions there is absolutely no support in the Indian sources. And if we accept the view of Diodorus, we will have to say that Xandrames was the brother of the

old king. In fact according to both these equations this difficulty remains, as according to one the old king and Xandrames will be brothers (being equated with the 7th and 8th sons of Mahāpadma) and according to the other, all the three—the old king, the barber and Xandrames—will be brothers, they being equated with the 6th, 7th and the 8th sons of Mahāpadma. Therefore these equations will not do.

Let us, then, take that after Mahāpadma ruled only one of his sons and then the throne passed on to Candragupta Maurya. If so, we get the following two equations

Acc. to D.	Acc. to C.
Mahānanda = ?	Mahānanda = The old king
Mahāpadma = The old king	Mahāpadma = The Barber
one son = Xandrames	one son = Xandrames
Candragupta M. = Sandrocottus	Candra. M. = Sandrocottus

Now, if we accept the first of the above two equations, we will have to say that the one son of Mahāpadma, was his illegal son i. e. was a son of one of his queens by a barber but for such an assumption, there is absolutely no proof in Indian source.

Thus we come to the second of the above two equations. This equation, according some of the modern scholars¹, satisfies almost all the details given by the Greek writers. They rely upon *Sthavirāvalīcarita* of Hemacandrācārya. They say that according to Hemacandra, Mahāpadma was the son of a barber by a courtesan. Thus Mahāpadma, being the son of a barber will himself be a barber. Therefore, these scholars take Mahāpadma to be the same as the barber of the Greek writers. I shall clarify this point.

If Mahāpadma is the barber of the Greek writers, we shall have to say that Candragupta Maurya was the same as Sandrocottus, his predecessor the one son of Mahāpadma the same as Xandrames, Mahāpadma the same as the barber and Mahānanda the same as the old king. Thus this equation, at first, seems to satisfy all the details given by the Greek accounts, which according to this equation seem to be fully supported by the Indian evidence. But though this equation seems to satisfy all the conditions, I must submit that there are several grave difficulties in accepting it as correct. These difficulties are as under :

(1) According to this equation, Mahānanda will be the same as the old king and Mahāpadma the same as the barber. But if we accept this, we find that the details of the lives of the barber and the old king as given by the Greek writers are not supported by the Indian evidence. The Greek writers say that the queen of the old king was in love with a barber and Xandrames was the son of this barber. According to Hemacandra, as interpreted by the scholars, Mahāpadma was the son of a barber by a courtesan, and therefore was himself a barber. Now the question is this. Is the barber of Hemacandra, who was in love with a courtesan, the same as the barber of the Greek writers, who was in love with the old king's queen? If so, the courtesan should be taken to be the same as the queen of the old king and

1 Raychaudhuri, Pradhan, Jayswal, Tripathi and others.

her son (by the barber) to be the same as Xandrames. Hemacandra says that Mahāpadma was the son of this courtesan, therefore, according to the above, he should be the same as Xandrames. But this goes against the equation which we are considering, according to which Mahāpadma's son was the same as Xandrames. Therefore, we will have to say that Hemacandra's barber is not the same as the Greek writers' barber. Then is the son of Hemacandra's barber, who also, according to these scholars will be called a barber, the same as the barber of the Greek writers? Apparently that is what these scholars say. But if so, we will have to say that the father barber (i. e. Hemacandra's barber) had a son by a courtesan and also that this barber son of this barber father had, by the queen of the old king a son who was the same as Xandrames. In that case, the barber and the courtesan of Hemacandra will not be the same as the barber and the old king's queen, which these scholars would like to be the case. Because, if Hemacandra's barber and courtesan are not the same as the Greek writer's barber and the old king's queen, then there is no support, in Indian sources, for saying that Mahāpadma (who was a barber) had a love affair with Mahānanda's queen, which he should have had, if his one son is to be the same as Xandrames.

Again, if we believe in this equation, we will have to say that Mahāpadma the barber, had ruled as a regent only. But I should submit that all the Indian accounts of Mahāpadma take him to be not only a great conqueror but as the starter of a separate Imperial dynasty. The account of Curtius, in no way, even suggests that his regent barber had been an emperor. 'Supreme position' in his statement clearly refers to the supreme position in his kingdom and not in the whole of India. Therefore also, this equation is not satisfactory.

And, we should not forget that, according to Diodorus, the barber did not rule at all (not even as a regent) and therefore, Mahāpadma could in no case, be the same as the barber.

(2) Again, according to this equation, we have to identify Xandrames with one son of Mahāpadma, but here also there are difficulties. The name Xandrames cannot be equated phonetically, by any stretch of imagination, with the name of the successor of Mahāpadma, who is variously named as Sumālya, Sukalpa, Suhasta, Dhanananda or Yogananda. But none of these have even the nearest phonetic affinity with Xandrames. In order to, escape from this difficulty, some scholars¹ seem to suggest that Agrammes is the correct name (and not Xandrames) and that Agrammes can be equated with the name of the successor of Mahāpadma. These scholars, say that Mahāpadma was also called Ugrasena, and patronymic from Ugrasena will be Augrasenya and this they seem to suggest can equate with Agrammes. But even here, there are several difficulties. There is no source which categorically says that Ugrasena was another name of Mahāpadma. It is only an inference drawn by these scholars. But even if we take it that Mahāpadma had Ugrasena as his other name, it is very unlikely that Porus, who informed Alexander, should use the patronymic of the Eastern king, and not his personal

1. Raychaudhuri, Tripathi and others.

name, which is the most universal practice in ancient India. No king is, yet, known to have been, in official references, called by his patronymic. And even taking that Porus had used the patronymic Augrasenya, it is very difficult to equate it with Agrammes. In the first place, as I have suggested earlier, the real name must have been Xandrames and just like Sandrocottus and Androcottus, Xandrames itself must have changed to Andrames and then to Agrammes. Again Agrammes and Augrasenya cannot be identical, as only the first part of the name have a phonetic similarity, but the last parts ('senya' and 'mmes') have no phonetic similarity whatsoever. By no stretch of argument can we affix the termination 'mas' to 'Augra.' On the contrary, this termination 'mes' which is common to both Xandrames and Agrammes, supports my contention that the original name was Xandrames. Moreover, if we take Agrammes to stand for Augrasenya, we shall have to say that the successor of Mahāpadma had still another name (personal) which should equate with Xandrammes, for which assumption there is not the least ground in Indian sources, as none of the name of the successor of Mahānanda, as given in the various sources, can equate with Xandrames. And it cannot be said that Agrammes has changed to Xandrames, by scribal error, for addition of 'X' can, under no circumstances, happen by mishearing or misspelling. Due to all these reasons I do not think that Augrasenya can be equated with Xandrames. Thirdly, if we take Xandrames to be the same as the one son of Mahāpadma, we shall have to say, according to the Greek accounts, that son of Mahāpadma (the barber) was really the son Mahāpadma (the barber) by the queen of Mahānanda (the old king). But for saying so, there is absolutely no support from any of the Indian sources. Therefore, also this equation will not do.

(3) Again, according to this equation, we shall have to say that Sandrocottus was the same as Candragupta Maurya. But in saying so there are many difficulties. (i) The Greek writers say that Sandrocottus had become oppressive, but no Indian account calls Candragupta Maurya to have been oppressive. (ii) According to Justin, Sandrocottus was prompted to aspire to royalty by an omen etc. But it is really surprising that, if Sandrocottus is the same as Candragupta Maurya, the Greek account which gives this detail of his life should entirely gloss over the insult that Candragupta Maurya, according to Indian accounts, had met with from the last Nanda king. In fact, according to Indian accounts, it was this circumstance that inspired Candragupta Maurya to gain the throne of Magadha, not the lion and omen etc. (iii) But the most important point to bear in mind is this that all Indian accounts are unanimous in saying that Candragupta Maurya had come to the throne by Cāṇakya's help. But the Greek accounts, one and all, are entirely silent about this most outstandig point. They do not even mention the name of Cāṇakya, or for the matter of that, of any minister at all. How it is that the Greek accounts, which go into such details as the lion and omen, are altogether silent about this most important point? The Greek accounts are silent about this as well as about the insult given to Candragupta Maurya. Both these are very important point in the life of Candragupta Maurya and yet the Greek accounts

know nothing about them. Why is it so? The answer can be one only, that the Greek accounts of Sandrocottus do not refer to Candragupta Maurya.

Thus we find that there are serious difficulties in taking the Greek accounts to refer to the times of the Nandas and Mauryas. We have seen that many points go against identifying (1) Mahāpadma with the barber of the Greek writers, (2) Mahāpadma's one son with Xandrames and (3) Candragupta Maurya with Sandrocottus. For all these reasons, I believe that even this equation, which we have been considering will not do. At any rate, let us bear in mind that it is only by serious disregard and distortions of both the Greek accounts and the Indian accounts that the scholars have, somehow, been able to make the Greek accounts refer to the Nandas and the Mauryas.

Solution of the Dwārakā Controversy

By Prof. V. B. Athavale

Three papers are published which deal exclusively with the Dwārakā problem. Mr. N. K. Bhattasali concludes, "The Yādavas repaired the impregnable hill fortress of Dwārāwatī, the present Junagarh, and lived there in security". (Vide I. H. Q., 1934, pp. 541 ff.). Mm. Hathibhai Shastri says, "It is not the intention of the author to establish that the Dwārakā near port Okha is not the original Dwārakā of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, but he wishes to draw the attention of the scholars to the conflicting evidence from the Dwārakā Māhātmya and other sources, which are also worth consideration." (Vide Proc. Oriental Conf. VII, pp. 1171-3). Dr. A. D. Pusalker concludes, "There are objections to the identification of the modern Dwārakā with the Dwārakā of Kṛṣṇa and we cannot establish the identification with absolute certainty. But the proximity of the Piṇḍāraka tīrtha, which is specifically mentioned in the Mbh. inclines me to think that I should look to the old capital Dwārakā of Kṛṣṇa near port Okha, and not Prabhāsa-pāṭaṇ, which is shown by many as Mul-Dwaraka" (Vide B. C. Law Volume, Part I).

It is very easy to prove that Junā-gaḍha (Old fortress) was not the site of the Dwārakā fortress, which was built by the Vṛṣṇi family to protect two (वृष्णि अंघक) of the 18¹ Yādawa families who decided to leave Mathurā to be free from the attacks of Jarāsandha. If we look at the toposheet 41 (Kathiawad map with scale 16 miles to an inch and vertical heights shown by contours) Junagad will be found to be at least 50 miles away from the nearest point on the sea coast at the foot of the Girnar mountain, with highest peak (3600 ft.) in all the Kathiawad ranges. The contour running through the town is 200 ft. References quoted in the footnotes below will² show

1 मंत्रोयं मंत्रितो राजन् कुलैः अष्टादशावरैः । सभा. १४.३५
अष्टादशावरैर्नन्दं क्षत्रियैः युद्धदुर्मदैः ॥ „ १४.५६

2 (a) सागरानूयविपुलां प्राक् उदप्लवशीतलां । ह. वि. ५५
सर्वतोदधिमध्यस्थां अभेषां त्रिदशैरपि । ३
यदि स्यात् संवृता भूमिं प्रदास्यति महोदधिः । १३

(b) सागरानिलसंवीतं सागराबुनिषेवितम् ।

विषयं सिंधुराजस्य शोभितं पुरलक्षणेः ॥

Harī II. 56. 26; Brahma 17. 23; Brahmāṇḍa II. 71. 91; Vāyu. 96. 90,

clearly that Dwārakā was coastal town fortress built after reclaiming a good deal of the land from the sea. Bhāgawata XI. 30, 31¹ gives a clear picture of the abnormal tidal waves flood the Dwārakā town. The Yādawas went to Prabhāsa. The place Prācī Saraswatī mentioned in the Bhāgawata will be found 10 miles north of Prabhāsa and on the 100 ft. contour. This shows that the sea had suddenly risen to 70 ft. above the highest tidal mark.

That Dwārakā was a fortress newly built on an island can be independently testified because Mbh. III. 15-16 tell that when Kṛṣṇa had gone to Indraprastha for the Rājasūya sacrifice, the Sālva king had brought his army through his Saubha ship and surrounded the island fortress². Vṛṣṇi children Pradyumna, Sāmba and others had smashed all communications of the island with the main land and none was allowed to enter the town without a permit³.

- (c) Trikāṇḍaśeṣa (P. 32) calls द्वारावती as अश्विनगरी.
- (d) Ghatajātaka:—'Dwārakā stood on the sea.....P. 102 of 'India as described in the early texts of Buddhism & Jainism' B. C. Law.
- (e) यादवाः एकदा द्वारकायाः निर्गल्य समुद्रतीरे विरहतः सामुद्रैः ॥
- (f) यदीच्छेत् सागरः किञ्चित् उत्सृष्टं अपि तोयराट् । मौ. १.२
समुद्रे दश च द्वे च योजनानि जलाशये ॥ ह. वं. ५८.३७
- (g) इति संमंत्र्य भगवान् दुर्गं द्वादशयोजनं ।
अंतःसमुद्रे नगरं कृत्वा द्रुतं अचीकरत् । भा. १०.५०.५१
- 1 (a) मुहूर्तं अपि च स्थेयं अत्र नो यदुपुंगवाः ।
स्त्रियो बालाः च वृद्धाः च शंखोद्धारं व्रजंतु इतः । भा. ११.३०.५-७
वयं प्रभासं गच्छामः यत्र प्राची सरस्वती ।
तथेति नौभिरुत्तीर्य प्रभासं प्रययुः रथैः ॥ भा. ११.३०.४७
मया त्यक्तां यदुपुर्णीं समुद्रः प्लावयिष्यति ।
द्वारका हरिणा त्यक्ता समुद्रः अप्लावयत् क्षणात् ।
वर्जयित्वा महाराज श्रीमत् भगवदालयम् । भा. ११.३१-३२
- (b) 'The legend about the Dwārakā being engulfed in oceanic inundation seems to be true as literary evidence supports it'. Dr. Altekar's 'Ancient towns and cities of Gujarat & Kathiawad'. Page 25.
- (c) "Dwaraka has been variously placed on the coast between Porbunder & 3 miles southwest of Kodinar. Burgess:—Antiquities of Kathiawad & Kutch. London 1876, P. 13.
- 2 तां तूपायतो राजेंद्र शास्त्रो सौभपतिः तदा ।
प्रभूतनरनागेन बलेनोपविवेश ह । वन. १९.१
समे निविष्टा सा सेना प्रभूतसलिलाशये ।
- 3 संक्रमा भेदिताः सर्वे नावः च प्रतिषेधिताः । वन. १५
समंतात् क्रोशमानं च प्रतिषेधिताः । वन. १५
न चासुद्रोऽभिनिर्याति न चासुद्रः प्रवेक्ष्यते ।
वृष्णयंधकपुरे राजन् तदा सौभसमानमे ॥

Mbh. II. 14 tells, the fortress was 3 Yojanas (18 miles) in length and the same in breadth. It was so strongly built that even the Vṛṣṇi women should be able to defend it¹. The male population was 18000. These references clearly prove that the conclusion of Mr. Bhattasali that the Yādavas repaired the old Junagad fortress and called it Dwārāwatī, is entirely wrong.

I shall now show that the Girnar mountain and the Gir hills (2100 ft. the highest peak and the lion's home) were known as Gomantaka and Raiwataka mountains respectively in the Pāṇḍawa period by referring to the incidents which have taken place in these two separate hill ranges. The Girnar mountain was called Ūrjayanta at the time of Rudradāman I (150 A. D.). His inscription on a granite boulder near Junagad says, 'From the Ūrjayanta mountain Swarnasikatā and Pālāsīnī.....rivers flow'. In the one mile to an inch toposheet of Junagarh two streams called Sonarekha and Palashio are shown to have emerged from Girnar. This old name Ūrjayanta is still preserved by a big river emerging from the mountain and separating the Girnar and Gir hill ranges. The river is called Ojjat. While counting the mountains which are known for their sanctity, five Purāṇas give the list 'Ūrjayanta, Puṣpawanta, and also Raiwataka.....This establishes the identity of Girnar with Ūrjayanta and Gir hills with Raiwataka. In the Kathiawad sheet two Dwarakas are given, one is near port Okha which is the famous place of pilgrimage, and the other is near Kodinar on the sea coast and is called Mul-dwaraka.

If I now show that Ūrjayanta was called Gomanta in the Pāṇḍawa period, and the Gir hills were called Raiwataka, the problem of the two Dwarakas can be easily solved. Mbh. II. 14, associates the Dwārakā fortress with two mountains Raiwataka and Gomanta.² There is the adjective *giri-mukhyam* in the accusative case.

- 1 कुशस्थलीं पुरीं रम्यां रैवतेनोपशोभितां । सभा. १४
ततो निवेशो तस्यां च कृतवन्तो वयं नृप ।
तथैव दुर्गसंस्कारं देवैः अपि दुरासदम् ।
स्त्रियोऽपि यस्यां युध्येयुः किमु वृष्णिमहारथाः ।
त्रियोजनायतनं सद्यः त्रिस्कंधं योजनावधि ।
अष्टादश सहस्राणि भ्रातृणां संति नः कुले ।
पुत्रौ चांधकभोजस्य वृद्धो राजा च ते दश ।
स्मरंतो मध्यमं देशं वृष्णिमध्ये व्यवस्थिताः ।
- 2 कुशस्थलीं पुरीं रम्यां रैवतेनोपशोभिताम् ।
सामर्थ्यवन्तः संबधात् गोमंतं समुपाश्रिताम् ।
आलोच्य गिरिमुख्यं तं मागधं तीर्णमेव च ।
माधवाः कुरुशार्दूल परां मुदं अबामुबन् ।

Gomanta is the only noun in the accusative case. The noun Raiwata is in the instrumental case. This shows that the adjective *giri-mukhyam* must be taken along with the Gomanta mountain. But we have already seen that Girnar can only be the highest of the two. This establishes the identity of Girnar with Gomanta.

But it should not be supposed that this is the only proof to establish the identity. Two other incidents have taken place in the Gomanta. By studying the description of place we shall be able to determine its position without ambiguity. Hari 39. tells that when Jarāsandha attacked Mathurā 17th time, the people flatly told the Vṛṣṇi family that it was no more possible to stem the attack this time. As Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma are at the root of this trouble it is for them to find out the way to save Mathurā. Then they decided to run away from Mathurā so that Jarāsandha's army would follow to capture them and thus Mathurā will be automatically free from the attack. First they went alone and wandering leisurely in the Sahyādri reached the Venyā river in the Karavīra territory. There they met Bhārgawa Rāma, who told them that a Yada called Śṛīgāla Vāsudeva was ruling the territory, but as he was of a wicked nature it would be of no use to seek his help or to take shelter there. He advised them to go to the Gomanta mountain and make preparation to fight with the army in the hilly country. They accordingly went to Gomanta and inspected it with a view to fight a defensive battle.

Hari. 40 gives a description of the mountain when they climbed it.¹ The abundance of the peacock and the lion are the characteristic fauna which appear in the description. As we know that there is no lion in India except in Kathiawad, we can easily conclude that the mountain must be in Kathiawad only. The abundance of peacock also supports it. The Sahyādri hills near the Goa territory is called Gomantaka, but there is neither lion nor the abundance of peacock in that area. There is another characteristic description which fixes the identity of the Gomanta without ambiguity. A stream running in the jungle added a Swarṇa view to the scenery.² We have already seen that Swarṇarekhā is a river flowing from the

1 गोमंतं अचलं प्राप्तः मंदरं त्रिदशा इव ।
मत्तबर्हिणनिर्घोषं नादितं प्रतिनादितं ।
सिंहशार्दूलसंनादैः मेघनादितं ।

2 जातरूपैः वननदीकृत्रिमैः इव भूषितम् ।
रुरुडुः ते गिरिवरं खमूर्ध इव पक्षिणः ।

Ūrjayanta on the Junagad side of the mountain. We are thus able to ascertain not only the exact location of the mountain, but even the side of the mountain by which they climbed Gomanta first.

Hari. 42 gives the description of the battle in the Gomanta, when the Jarāsandha army surrounded the mountain. When Jarāsandha found that it was impossible to go up the mountain, he decided to set fire to the jungle all around and return to Magadha leaving the brothers to their fate. The name of the chapter is “The burning of the Gomanta mountain.” The toposheet will show that out of the Gir and Girnar hills, it is possible to encircle the Girnar hills by an army, the circumference being only 25 miles. It is impossible to encircle the Gir hills. Thus the encircling and the burning of the Gomanta tells us that Gomanta must be the Ūrjayanta mountain.

Kṛṣṇa had taken shelter of the Gomanta mountain a second time when Kālayawana invaded Mathurā. Kṛṣṇa fled from Mathurā and Kālayawana chased him. Kṛṣṇa went to Gomanta, which he knew thoroughly, and tricked Kālayawana to fight with Mucakunda, who ultimately killed him. A cave near Junagad is still known as the Mucakunda cave.

I have thus proved without ambiguity that Girnar was identical with Gomanta and Gir hills coincided with Raiwataka in the Pāṇḍava period. Now we shall turn to the problem of the two Dwāarakās. I shall now show that Mul-dwaraka was the place where the fortress was built and the Vṛṣṇi and Andhaka families settled there first. Kṛṣṇa then gradually extended his control northwards. The fight with Mura in the Alaca hills and with Naraka near the Gopa hills (called Prāg-Jyotiṣa at that time) gave him the control over that territory. Finally Śālva was killed in a naval battle at Port Salaya in the Jamnagar territory and Kṛṣṇa got control of the northern coast of Kathiawad, where Piṇḍāraka, Śaṅkhoddhār, Modern Dwaraka near port Okha are all situated.

Hari 63 gives the description of Dwāarakā, when Kṛṣṇa settled to attack Naraka, taking his wife Satyabhāmā with him in the campaign. “On one side of Dwāarakā there rolled the sea while on the other five chains of mountains stretched. From the toposheet we can identify the five chains to be (1) The Barda hills (2) The Allaca hills, (3) The Girnar, (4) Gir or Raiwataka hills, (5) The Shatrunjaya hills.

The Raiwataka hills are within 15 miles from Mul-dwaraka. Four Purāṇas while counting the names of sacred mountains write Ūrjayanta, Puṣpagiri and also the Raiwataka. This shows that Ūrjayanta and Raiwataka were never taken to be one and the same. Hari II. 55, tells clearly "Let Raiwataka be like an ornament at the front door of the Dwārakā fortress. This shows that the Raiwataka cannot be far from the coastal town. Hari., Vāyu, Brahma, Brahmāṇḍa say the same thing. Ghaṭa Jātaka also says, "Dwārakā stood on the sea and had a hill by its side."

To locate the exact site of the Dwaraka Fortress, the first criterion is that it must be in the region called Kuśasthalī, which is associated by all Purāṇas with the Raiwataka hills. Thus the proximity of the Raiwataka is a criterion to determine the position of the fortress. I have shown that the Gir hills and the Raiwataka are identical. Mbh. I. 218, supplies the proximity of Prabhāsa as an additional criterion. Arjuna came to Prabhāsa during his exile. Kṛṣṇa meets him there, and both of them stayed in the Raiwataka mountains for some days to enjoy the scenery there. Food was supplied from Dwārakā. One morning Arjuna finished his morning routine in the hill and entered the town ceremoniously in a chariot, and stayed in the Palace of Kṛṣṇa.

Some days later, the Vṛṣṇi-Andhakas celebrated the Gīrī-pūjā festival in the Raiwataka. Arjuna saw Subhadrā in that festival. Subhadrā had gone to worship the Deities up in the hill, and according to the custom was encircling hill before returning to Dwārakā. Arjuna had planned to carry her off during this interval, with the consent of Kṛṣṇa. A meeting had taken place in the hall called "Sudharma Sabhā" to discuss the incident.

Vana. 119, tells that four Pāṇḍawas (Arjuna was absent) had come to Prabhāsa for a pilgrimage during their exile. Vṛṣṇi family only had gone to Prabhāsa to meet them there. Aśvamedha also tells that when Kṛṣṇa returned from the sacrifice, the Raiwataka was illuminated by thousands of torches to celebrate his arrival.

It will be clear from this evidence that Dwārakā near Port Okha can never satisfy these conditions, while Mul-dwaraka given in the map near Kodinar satisfies completely all these conditions. Hari. 56. 25, supplies a minor but very significant detail that as sand was mixed with red earth, it afforded a very favourable road for vehicles.

Now we shall turn to the evidence of the proximity of Piṇḍāraka, on which Dr. Pusalker has based his conclusion. The reference has the following significance: "One should go for Tirthayātra to Prabhāsa, then to the meeting point of the Saraswatī with the sea, then to Dwārakā and Piṇḍāraka".—Nārada is describing these tirthas to Yudhiṣṭhira. But we know that Dwaraka became a tirtha after the passing away of Kṛṣṇa. We have already seen that Yudhiṣṭhira has gone to Prabhāsa for a pilgrimage, and the Vṛṣṇi family only had come to meet the Pāṇḍawas from Dwārakā. Yudhiṣṭhira did not go to Dwārakā at all, much less to practice penance. Prabhāsa and Piṇḍāraka were well-known as Tirthas even in the Pāṇḍawa period. Hari. 33. 11 tells that Sāṇḍipani had gone for a pilgrimage to Prabhāsa and his son was snatched away there. Kṛṣṇa traced the boy in the Dieu islands and brought him back as Guru-dakṣiṇā.

Hari. 88. 3-4, tells that the Vṛṣṇi family had gone to Piṇḍāraka for Tirthayātrā. The period at which they had gone there can be correctly judged from a statement in the verse 13 that the defeat and death of the enemies Mura, Naraka and Śālva was sung there. I have already shown in the note 12 that Śālva was killed at the port Salaya, after Kṛṣṇa returned from the Rājasūya sacrifice to Dwārakā and found that Śālva had attacked it in his absence. It is clear from this that the Piṇḍāraka Yātrā took place just after the Pāṇḍawas went for exile of 13 years. Vana. 13, tells that Kṛṣṇa went to see the Pāṇḍawas in the forest and deplored that as he was engaged with Śālva he was out of Dwārakā, and hence he could not come to Indraprastha and stop the Dyūta play. Before going to Piṇḍāraka Kṛṣṇa saw that Ugrasena and Vasudeva were left in Dwārakā to protect it in case of attack.

Piṇḍāraka is on the northern coast of Kāthiawād and about 20 miles east of modern Dwārakā near Okha. From Muldwārakā it is about 175 miles. The fact that Vasudeva and Ugrasena were kept back to defend Dwārakā shows clearly that modern Dwārakā cannot be the Dwārakā of Kṛṣṇa at this time. Another important incident has happened in Piṇḍāraka. Bhāgawata XI. 1, tells that Kṛṣṇa asked Durvāsā, Jamadagni and others to go to Piṇḍāraka and stay there. It was at Piṇḍāra that Sāmba was dressed like a pregnant woman and the Vṛṣṇi boys approached Durvāsā and asked him whether the woman would give birth to a male or a female child. This incident could not have happened at Piṇḍāraka unless the Vṛṣṇi family also had come

to stay somewhere near Piṇḍāraka. That the Vṛṣṇi family had a residential place on the northern coast also, can be proved by the following in Bhāgawata. Bhaga. XI. 30. 5, tells, "Let the women, boys and old people of the Yadu family go to Śaṅkhoddhāra, because this Dwārakā would be flooded. We are going to Prabhāsa. Śaṅkhoddhāra is the Beyt Dwaraka island. Unless they had already a place of residence in Beyt, they could not have been asked to go and stay there. This shows clearly that the Vṛṣṇi family had a residential town on the northern coast. I shall now show that modern Dwaraka was the town and it was established some time before the Kuru war and after the Piṇḍārakayātrā, mentioned above. In the Anuśāsana 159-160, a discussion is going on near the Śaraśayyā of Bhīṣma at Kurukṣetra. Kṛṣṇa told he favoured the worship of the Brahmins and all his powers were due to putting the worship into practice. He told that Durvāsā had tested his patience by staying at his place in Dwārakā for about a month. He once ordered me that he wished to sit in a chariot and it should be drawn by you and your wife Rukmiṇī, and I may even whip you. His wish was actually carried out. After Kṛṣṇa and Rukmiṇī had drawn the chariot for more than a mile from the town, Rukmiṇī stumbled and fell on the ground. Durvāsā whipped Rukmiṇī, left the chariot and walked away in rage. Kṛṣṇa went to Durvāsā and requested him to excuse Rukmiṇī for her stumbling.

This incident must have taken place after Durvāsā and others had come to stay at Piṇḍāraka. In modern Dwaraka, a place is shown a mile and a half from the town, and the tradition tells that Rukmiṇī had stumbled there due to thirst. The port Okha area was called Uṣā-maṇḍala. We know that Aniruddha, a grandson of Kṛṣṇa was married to Uṣā of Bāṇāsura, and the place became known as Uṣā-maṇḍala afterwards.

The famous Garbā dance was introduced in India by Uṣā, who was the daughter of Bāṇāsura. Bhāgawata X 61-63 gives the story of the marriage of Uṣā with Aniruddha. But we know that this marriage took place after the marriage of Aniruddha with the grand-daughter of Rukmi. We know that this marriage of Aniruddha must have taken place after the war. For, Udyoga. 158.39, tells that Rukmī and Balarāma did not take part in the war. But Bhag. 61. 38, tells that Rukmī was killed by Balarāma at the end of the marriage ceremony of Aniruddha with Rocanā. Bhāg. 62. 4, tells that Śoṇitapura was the place where Bāṇa lived. This

has been identified with Ninevha in Iraq. Encyclopaedia Brit. says "Asura is the name of the ancient capital of Assyria, built on a rocky head land on the west bank of the Taigris, 40 miles above the mouth of the lower Zab. Its reference is found in 2400 B.C. as a town in the old times." Nineva and Assura are near together.

This proves that Kṛṣṇa must have occupied modern Dwārakā before the marriage of Aniruddha with Uṣā. After the marriage the place became known as Uṣā Maṇḍala. Kṛṣṇa must have connection with Beyt Dwaraka also. Because, Bhāg. XI. 1, tells that Kṛṣṇa told the Yādawas that the old men and children should go to Śaṅkhoddhāra, which is none else than Beyt Dwārakā.

Bhāg. XI. 1, mentions that Sāmba was given the garb of a pregnant woman and the Yādawa boys approached Durvāsā and other Munis, who were in Piṇḍāraka, and asked them whether the woman would give birth to a male or female child. The proximity of Modern Dwaraka is clear in this case. It should not be supposed that the woman's garb by Sāmba was an isolated incident. Hari. II. 92, tells that the Yādawa boys had a sort of Drama Compnay and this company had given performances of the dramas like Rāma-Rāwana, Nalakūbara etc. even in distant towns like Sakhpura near the Barda hills.

Kathiawad Gazetteer refers to an old place called Balachadi, some 20 miles from Jamnagar on the north coast, where the Yādawa children were cremated. This proves that the Andhaka family which had stayed with the Vṛṣṇi family in the beginning at Mul-dwaraka established a new town Andhakapura, near port Salaya and then extended their control to Jamnagar.

Some of the missing links in the History of Astrology

Dr. A. S. Gopani

In my previous article I had discussed about Āryabhaṭa I, Varāhamihira, Śrīṣeṇa and Viṣṇucandra, Brahmagupta, Lalla, Padmanābha, Śrīdhara, and Mahāvīra; and in this I propose to treat Āryabhaṭa II, Balabhadra, Bhaṭṭotpala, and Caturveda Pṛthūdakasvāmī.

Āryabhaṭa II

This Āryabhaṭa whose approximate date is 953 A.D. had also written *Āryasiddhānta* other than one referred to before. It is titled as *Laghusiddhānta* as the manuscript of this work lying in the Deccan College Library shows; but this is not supported by the first stanza of the printed work which simply calls it as *Siddhānta* without prefixing the adjectives Laghu or Br̥hat to the word Siddhānta. The fact that the defects found by Brahmagupta from the *Āryasiddhānta* relate to the *Āryasiddhānta* of Āryabhaṭa I proves that this Āryabhaṭa II flourished after Brahmagupta. Equally certain is the fact that he flourished before Bhāskarācārya who quotes him¹. Thus he flourished between Brahmagupta (665 A.D.) and Bhāskarācārya (1150 A.D.). A third consideration helps us further in exactly settling the date of this author and it is this that Bhaṭṭotpala (966 A.D.) who quotes many authors including Āryabhaṭa I is silent about this author throughout in his commentary. On this ground a surmise can be hazarded that he flourished just about the time of Utpala and that is why I have approximately put him in about 953 A.D. above in the beginning of this article.

The *Āryasiddhānta* of this Āryabhaṭa is split up into eighteen chapters, called Adhikāras, containing in all 625 Āryās. The first thirteen chapters deal with matters culled from various works on Karāṇa; the fourteenth with those pertaining to Gola; the fifteenth devotes 120 Āryās concerning the pāṭiganita to which Bhāskarācārya's *Līlāvati* is much indebted; the sixteenth describes the nature and the position of the universe; the seventeenth discusses the method of finding out the Grahamadhyagati; and the eighteenth,

1. आर्यभटादिभिः सूक्ष्मत्वाद्भट्टकाणोदयाः पठिताः ॥ *Siddhāntasiromaṇi*, Spasṭādhikāra, Śl. 65.

which contains detailed informations more than those found in the work of Brahmagupta, outlines the principles of Bījagaṇita, specially the Kuṭṭagaṇita.

To indicate the numerals (Aṅkas), this Āryabhaṭa has adopted the use of letters (Akṣaras); but he differs from the first Āryabhaṭa inasmuch as he has abandoned the famous principle of counting them from right to left¹. Thus according to this Āryabhaṭa क ख ग will mean 123 instead of 327.

The first clear traces of the *Pārāśarasiddhānta* being a separate work are definitely found in the work of this Āryabhaṭa².

Balabhadra

In his commentary on *Brahmasiddhānta*, Prthūdaka has cited many stanzas in Anuṣṭup which he attributes to this writer. Utpala also, in his commentary on *Brhatsamhitā*, cites many stanzas and Āryās, attributing them to Bālabhadra. They have no connection with *Brahmasiddhānta* as they all have a bearing on Gaṇita. This leads us to conclude that he has to his credit a separate, independent work treating of Grahagaṇita while the abovementioned stanzas, cited by Prthūdaka, are presumably taken from this writer's commentary on *Brahmasiddhānta* a portion of which he might have composed in verse—a custom fully borne out by Paramādīśvara who cites many stanzas, in his commentary on *Līlāvatī*, from the commentary which is in verse on the *Āryabhaṭīya* which is also in verse.

It is certain that this writer flourished before Utpala who has amply quoted him and hence before 966 A.D.

Bhaṭotpala

Utpal was a very learned commentator on astrological and astronomical works. He flourished in 966 A.D. as is evidenced from his two commentaries on *Brhajjātaka* and *Brhatsamhitā*³. He has also written a commentary on *Khaṇḍakhādya* of Brahmagupta. It was written prior to his commentary on *Brhatsamhitā* as is obvious from his own statement⁴. A work of Varāhamihira, titled *yātrā* has

1 "अङ्कानां वामतो गतिः" ।

2 कलिसिंहे युगपादे पाराशर्ये मतं प्रशस्तमतः *Āryasiddhānta*, Adhikāra, 2.

3 चैत्रमासस्य पंचम्यां सितायां गुरुवासरे । वस्वष्टाष्ट ८८८ मिते शाके कृतेयं विवृतिर्मेया ॥ वृ० जा० टी० ।
फाल्गुनस्य द्वितीयायामसितायां गुरोर्दिने । वस्वष्टाष्ट ८८८ मिते शाके कृतेयं विवृतिर्मेया ॥ वृ० सं० टी० ।

4 "खंडखाद्यरणे अस्मदीयवचनम्" See his commentary on *Brhatsamhitā* (*Adhyāya* 5).

also been commented upon by him and this also he wrote before he wrote his commentary on *Brhatsamhitā*¹. He is the Mallinātha of Varāhamihira as he has commented on almost all the works of Varāha, including the *Laghujātaka* also and has admirably attempted to unfold the hidden bloom of Varāha's flower of genius. The palm-leaf manuscript of his commentary on Brahmagupta's *Khaṇḍakhādya* which is there in the Deccan Collage Library at Poona was found from Kashmere and it is up till now found nowhere else. The fact that it was held in high esteem in Kashmere is proved by another commentry on *Khaṇḍakhādya* written in 1642 A.D as well as by *Pañcāṅgakaustuka* written in 1645 A.D., both in Kashmere. This amply supports the conclusion of Varuṇa who is definitely of the opinion that Utpala belonged to Kashmere and to no other country².

The conclusion that he had to his credit an independent work on Gaṇita is uncontroversially borne out by one Āryā which is prefaced with असदीयं वचनम् and which he has quoted in his commentary on the *Brhatsamhitā*³. Or perhaps it may refer to his commentary on *Khaṇḍakhādya* of Brahmagupta above-referred to in this article. He is also the accredited author of a small, laconic treatise on Praśna, titled *Praśnajñāna*, containing only seventytwo Āryās.

He was a brilliant and an original commentator. Full of wide and varied reading, he had comprehensive grasp of the subject which he treated ably and couvincingly. If at all Varāha is alive, it is so largely through his commentaries which are also useful to us in constructing a connected history of the Samhitā branch of astrology. He has tried at various places to trace the origin of most of Varāha's statements in the works of previous historical writers who are about eleven in number. This strengthens our honest and sincere conviction that there existed prior even to Varāha's times a regular school of astrological traditons some of which were inherited by Varāha and most of which lie still buried in the hoary past. His commentaries, serving as a beacon-light to scholar-voyagers plying the dark and rocky oceans of astrological antiquities, are thus an effective reply to western scholars who are rather slow in

1 See his commentary on *Brhatsamhitā* (Adhyāya 44)

2 See Varuṇa' commentary on *Khaṇḍakhādya*.

3 See his commentary on the 1st Adhyāya of *Brhatsamhitā*.

admitting the ancient nature and character of Āryan astrology, a branch of Ancient Indian Culture and Civilization and whose ludicrous attempt to assign to the latter a secondary importance is fast losing ground in the world of scholars. Utpala's talented gifts and his capacity to take infinite pains are markebly revealed in his splendid achievement of his having completed his commentary on *Brhatsamhitā* which is as large as fourteen thousand Śloka in extent in so short a period as eleven months. Lastly it remains to be noted that *Śatpañcāśikā*, an epitome on Jātaka by Prthuyasā, a distinguished son of Varāha, a distinguished father was also commented upon by Utpala¹.

I cannot finish in a more fitting manner this estimate and appreciation of Utpala than by observing that the matchless pair of Varāha and Utpala, the author and the commentator, have really and mightily contributed to the uplift and advancement of astrological science and their glorious attainments are not only not surpassed but not even equalled by any writers on astrology, earlier and later.

Caturveda Prthūdakaswāmī

He has written a commentary on Brahmagupta's *Brahmasiddhānta*. Bhāskarācārya has quoted him amply in his work. Varuṇa's commentary on *Khaṇḍakhādya* of Brahmagupta, which was written in about 1040 A. D. refers to him at so many places. Neither Bhaṭṭopala nor this writer refers to each other in his works; though Balabhadra's name is come across in this writer's commentary. All these facts sufficiently empower us to place this author after Balabhadra and before Varuṇa and to take him as a junior contemporary of Utpala. Thus it is quite probable to fix 978 A. D. as the date of this writer.

He hailed from Kanauj² and was the son of Madhusūdana³.

It seems that he first commented on the Golādhyāya, the 21st Adhyāya of Brahmagupta's *Brahmasiddhānta* and then on the first ten Adhyāyas of the same as is apparent from his own statement.⁴

1 The Ms. of this commentary is lying in the Deccan College Library (No. 355 of 1882-83).

2 See his commentary on the 35th and the 38th Āryās of the 7th Adhyāya of *Brahmasiddhānta*.

3 See the end of his commentary on the 10th Adhyāya.

4 उक्तं पूर्वं गोलाध्यायेऽस्माभिः ।

His commentary on the above-referred to Golādhya is as extensive as fifteen hundred ślokas and the same on the first ten Adhyāyas is about the extent of fiftythree hundred ślokas.

The commentary is on the whole lucid. But Bhāskarācārya has found fault with it at certain places only because of the fact that this writer, while discharging his responsible and religious duty as an impartial commentator in the most unobjectionable manner, has not hesitated in declaring even Brahmagupta redundant.¹

Varuṇa's reference in his own commentary on *Khaṇḍakhādya* to Pṛthūsvāmī as one who had written in verse some portion of his commentary on Brahmagupta's *Khaṇḍakhādya* seems to be with regard to none but this very Pṛthūdakasvāmī.

From among early historical writers he refers to Balabhadra only and from among those of the unhistorical writers, to Manu, Vyāsa and Purāṇakāra. (to be contd.)

1 Compare his remark "पिष्टवैषणमेतत्" in his commentary on 28th and 29th Āryās of the 7th Adhyāya.

Svayambhū and Hemacandra

by Prof. H. C. Bhayani

More than sufficient proofs are there to show the eclectic and exhaustive character of Hemacandra's treatise on prosody, *Chando'nusāsana* (Ch.). It is, therefore, quite reasonable to expect Hemacandra to have made generous use of the works of such eminent authorities in the field of metres as Bharata, Kāśyapa, Piṅgala, Saitava and Jayadeva, and we actually find these names cited several times in the *Chando'nusāsana*. Svayambhū is also found quoted along with these great names. This indicates that during the times of Hemacandra, Svayambhū was considered a metrist of established repute. Moreover, in his treatment of Apabhraṃśa grammar too, Svayambhū's Apabhraṃśa works must have proved of use which probably was something more than negligible, especially in view of the fact that the likelihood of an Apabhraṃśa grammatical work by Svayambhū cannot be easily ruled out.

Firstly, when there obtains a difference of names regarding any of the metres treated, Hemacandra records it, at times along with the name of the authority. In this manner at the end of the definition and illustration stanza of the Meghavisphūrjitā, we read: *Rambhēti Svayambhū* (Ch. p. 14 a, l. 16). If we refer to the *Svayambhūcchandās*² (Sc.) of Svayambhū we find that it defines at I 102 under the name Rambhā that very metre which is called Meghavisphūrjitā by Hemacandra.

Secondly, at several places Hemacandra has borrowed, verbally or with modifications or in the Sanskrit garb, metrical rules and definitions from the *Svayambhūcchandās*, without quoting the source or, at times, even without giving any indication that the statement in question is not original:

- (1) छन्दोसकसरमहिर्भं जं दीसइ किं पि रुवर्भं दीहं ।
सं दण्डर्भं ति मण्णइ पिपीडिआइं पमोत्तुण ॥ Sc. I 140.

1 I have used the Bombay edition of 1912 for the first three *Adhyāyas* and Prof. VELANKAR's edition (*JBBRAS*, n. s., 19, 1943, pp. 27-74; 20, 1944, pp. 1-46) for the rest.

2 Ed. VELANKAR, *JBBRAS*, n. s., 11, 1935, pp. 18-58; *JUB*, V, 1936, pp. 69-93.

यत्किञ्चित् दृश्यते छन्दः षड्विंशत्यक्षराधिकम् ।
शेषजात्यादिकं मुक्त्वा तत्सर्वं दण्डकं विदुः ॥ Ch. 18a, l. 17.

- (2) धवलणिहेण अ पुरिसो वणिज्जइ जेण तेण सा धवल् ।
धवलो वि होइ तिविहो अट्ठपओ छप्पओ चउप्पाओ ॥ Sc. IV 36.

= Ch. V 32 (1), preceded by *yadāha* and with the better variants, *supuriso* and *so dhavalo*.

- (3) गुरुओ चिअ एकलहू विरामविसअम्म विसमसंखाए ।
जमललहू लहुओ चिअ समसंखासंढिओ होइ ॥ Sc. V 2.

= Ch. 1b, l. 11, preceded by *yadāha* and with some corrupt variants.

- (4) विष्णवण संविहाणअ- मंगलसीहावलोइअथम्मि ।
तस्य णिवज्जइ धुवअ तसोवरि सव्वहुवईओ ॥ Sc. VII 1.
सिंहावलोकितार्थेषु विज्ञसो संविधानके ।
मङ्गले च ध्रुवा प्रोक्ता द्विपदान्यत्र कीर्त्यते ॥ Ch. VII 57 (1).

- (5) दोप्पाअसंजुआओ एआणेअक्खरन्तजमिआओ । (4)
ताओ चिअ धुवईओ चउण्ह तीसण्ह मज्झम्मि ॥ Sc. VII 2.
चतुर्मात्रादिकं त्रिशत् प्रान्तैरंहियुगैः पुनः ।
एकनेकैरन्तवर्णै- र्यमके द्विपदी विदुः ॥ Ch. VII 72 (1),

preceded by *yadāha*.

Lastly, Ch. borrows from Sc. several illustrative stanzas also, in their original, Sanskritized or modified form. Sc. itself has got most of them from other sources;

- (1) अचलदिहि अङ्गारगणस्स—
विलुलिअविउरमहरअलकअवण-
मविरलपुलअभरिअथणलुअमवि ।
रहरससणिअमणिअमुहलिअमिह
सहइ सुरअमविरअमइ सहि तुइ ॥ Sc. I 53.
विलुलितविउरमअरनिहितदशान—
मविरलपुलकनिषितकुचयुगमयि ।
रत्तिरसरअसमणितमुखरितमिह
विलसति तव सखि सुरतमचलभूति ॥ Ch. 11b, l. 11-12.

- (2) अमरपअ सुद्धकइस्स (or णिउणस्स)—
मेघकआहिसेअजकपसमिअरअणिअरा
णचिरचअरीअरअमुहअिअकुमुअसरा ।
उगअचन्दविम्बकरअवलिसअअदिसा
कस्स दिहि ण देइ अण मणहरसरअमिसा ॥ Sc. I 78.
वारिदमुक्तवारिअरपरिसमितअनरजा
उद्गतरोहिणीअकरअवलितसकलकुप ।
कस्य अति ददाति न हि आरत्तुरअतिरियं
सुअनकालसअसरपअविदलितकुपुषा ॥ Ch. p. 13b, l. 5-7.

Here the order of the lines of the original stanza is changed and some of the words are paraphrased.

(3) पणवो सुद्धसहावस्स—

सन्दो रुन्दो कुन्दच्छाभो सरमघणतुहिणकमकवणकुमुभहरहसिभसिभतणू ससङ्ककञ्जको ।
तारो पारावारप्पारो भवलिभजकथकगभणजणसभभुभणमकपरिसरप्पसाहिभदिम्भुहो ॥
कोभालोभच्छेअं गन्तुं दढकठिणविभदकलमकघणपडिवडणवकङ्गो नरेन्द सुहं जसो ।
उत्तुङ्गो सेभप्पाभारो उभ हरह परमतिहुभणसिरिमणहरभिरहभरहमन्दिस्सव संट्टिभो ॥

Sc. I 138.

रुन्दोऽमन्दः कुन्दच्छायः शरदमकघनतुहिनविकचकुमुदवनहरहसितसितः कञ्जाङ्ककरोज्ज्वलः ।
तारः पारावारापारः स्थलजलगगनतलसककभुवनपथभवकनपरिचितः प्रसाधितदिभ्युक्तः ॥
कोकाकोकच्छेअं गत्वा दढकठिनविकटदिगवधितटघटनविवकनचकयितो विभवसाक्षयः ।
प्रोत्तुङ्गः श्वेतप्राकारो ध्वनितगुणपणव तव जयति नृपवर नवकालतवसतेजंगितवभियः ॥

Ch. p. 18b, l. 10-13.

(4) भणवो तस्सेव (सुद्धसीलस्स)—

पसात्तात्ताभन्दोलिभासत्थक्षिजन्तपत्तोहसहाकवाभारिपूरिजमाणम्भरे ।
दिणभरकरतत्तत्तोह्णचिक्खिल्लोकोकन्तकोकालिदादुक्खभक्खोणिमुत्थाकसाइक्ख ॥
घणवणदवदाहउज्जन्तवपक्खभम्भुडोरल्लिसन्तत्थणासन्तमानङ्गव्हाउळे ।
पिभभम इभ एरिसे गिग्गहाल्लंमि मा वच्च माणेसु थोरत्थणाल्लिङ्गशुभमसोक्खाई मे ॥

Sc. I 148.

प्रसूतनिमित्ततात्ताभन्दोलिभासत्थक्षिजन्तपत्तोहसहाकवाभारिपूरिजमाणम्भरे ।
घनवनदवदह्यमानाखिलकूरशार्दूलपोतोद्गटोद्वादसंज्जमातङ्गयूथाकुळे ॥
दिनकरकरतलकोकावलीश्रीयमाणार्द्रतळे कसल्लोकोकल्लोकावाचकमाचम्महा- ।
र्णवपयसि ननु प्रिय ग्रीष्मकालेऽधुना मा ख गा मानव त्वं हि पीनकना-

श्लेषसौक्यानि मे ॥ Ch. p. 18b, l. 4-6.

(5) भणस्सेहरो सुद्धसीलस्स—

विसाकभाळचोलमाणकजलुजकाळभालिमालिभाकुकोवसोहिण् ।
विउद्धमुद्धदुद्धिण्णपणसामकभमन्तवारवीहरण्णिरत्तकन्तण् ॥
त्तिसद्धसन्द न्दगोच्छसच्छकोमल्लुसन्तदिसिदन्तवन्तिकेसराण् ।
इमंमि एरिसे मुहारविन्दण् पिण्णो जो पिभाहरं महुं व्व सो सडण्णभो ॥ Sc. I 167.
विशाळभाळकाळपूर्णमानकजलोज्ज्वलालकद्विरेण्णाल्लिणोपसोमिते ।
विउद्धहावमुद्धचारपइमकाळसभ्रमत्तुतारदीर्घनेत्रपत्रसुन्दरे ॥
भमन्दकुद्धकाळप्रकोमकोल्लसद्धुतीद्धुद्धदन्तपङ्क्तिकेसराण् ।
प्रियासुखाम्भुजेऽधरं चिराय मणिववापिबलनारत्तं भवेद्वनङ्गशेखरः ॥

Ch. p. 19b, l. 12-13.

(6) भुभ विकासा तस्सेभ (सुद्धसहावस्स)—

वासहरमि वरे कसणाभददुद्धिभूवसुभंभमणोहरण् कमणीण् ।
पीणघणुणभचक्कयोरथणीभ सभं परिपेक्खिभवक्खभको रमणीण् ॥
कोमकवाहुकभादवदेडिभो पडिवह्णेत्तविजंतिभण् सभणीण् ।
पावह्णिदिभं हिभद्विभं सदि जौं विभ पुण्णकुभो स जरो रमणीण् ॥ Sc. I 173.

पीनवनोन्नतवृत्तविज्ञाकस्तरस्सनमण्डलगाढनिपीडनकण्टकितार्कः ।
 कोमलपद्मजमृणाकलताददवेष्टितकण्ठतटः परितुम्बनविभ्रमपात्रम् ॥
 बासगृहे बहलाचलितारुणमलतानिचिते शयने मृदुनि क्षणदायां ।
 यो दयितां रमयत्यतिभ्रममानजुषं स भुजङ्गविलासधुरामिह धत्ते ॥

Ch. p. 20b, l. 1-3.

(7) Echoes from Sc. I 29 are found in Ch. p. 21b, st. 31.

(8) अवदुवहउ अजदेवस्स—

काहं करउं हउं माए । पिउ ण गणह लग्गी पाए ॥
 मणु भरन्ते हो जाइ । कदिण उत्तरङ्ग भणाइ ॥ Sc. IV 13.
 एरु करिमि भणि काहं । प्रिउ न गणह लग्गी पाइ ॥
 छेविणु हउं मुक्की । अवदोहय जिम्ब किर गावि ॥ Ch. VI, 19, 45.

(9) बीभचकणे मत्तबालिभा गोइन्दस्स—

कमलकुमुभह एक उप्पत्ति ।
 ससि तो वि कुमुभाभरह । देइ सोक्ख कमलह दिवाभर ॥
 पाविजइ अवस फलु । जेण जस्स पासे ठवेइउ ॥ IV 17.
 कुमुभकमकहं एक उप्पत्ति ।
 मडलेइ तु वि कमलवणु । कुमुभसंहु निबु वि विभासइ ॥
 सण्णन्दविभारिणिय । चंदजोणह किं मत्तबालिभा ॥ Ch. V 18, 18.
 The last two lines of the stanza in Ch. are different.

(10) बाआला फरसा विन्धणा । गुणेहिं विमुक्का पाणहरा ॥

जिह दुजणु सज्जणउवरि । तिह पसर ण लहन्ति सरा ॥ Sc. VI 150.
 बाआला फरसा विन्धणा । गुणिहिं विमुक्का प्राणहर ॥
 जह दुजण सज्जणजणउवरि । तेम्ब पसर न लहन्ति सर ॥ Ch. VI 21, 118.

(11) किर कण्णकलिङ्ग परिजिभा । ठिअ णवर माणविवज्जिभा ॥

णहु कोवि भहिइइ मुणिभवहे । कहिं धरइ जभइइ कण्ह कहे ॥ Sc. VI 152.
 कुवकण्णकलिङ्ग परिजिभा । ठिअ नरवइ माणविवज्जिभा ॥
 नहु कोइ भभिइइ भणिभवहि । कहिं वहरि जयइहु कण्ह कहि ॥ Ch. VI 20, 116.

(12) जहोरेणी जहा तस्सेअ (गोइन्दस्स)—

सम्ब गोविउ जइवि जोएइ
 हरि सुट्ठुवि आभरेण । देइ दिठ्ठि जहिं कहिं वि राही ॥
 को सक्कइ संवरेवि । दह्णभण जेहें पळोट्टउ ॥ Sc. IV 24.
 एकसेक्कउ जइवि जोएदि ।
 हरि दुट्ठु सम्बाभरेण । तो वि त्रेहि जहिं कहिं वि राही ॥
 को सक्कइ संवरेवि । दह्णभण जेहें पळुट्टा ॥

Hemacandra's Prakrit Grammar IV 422, 6.

(13) With बोलिजइ जं तं णिव्वइइ । Svayambhū's *Paṇṇaśāstrī* 80, 4, 2b and बोलिजइ जं णिव्वइइ वहु । Svayambhū's *Riṭṭhanemicariu* 24, 7, 4 cf. तं बोलिअइ (v. बोलिजइ) जु णिव्वइइ Hemacandra's Prakrit Grammar 4 360 (2).

It is not unlikely that for some of these illustrations which Svayambhū himself has taken from others, Hemacandra may have used directly the original sources. It should be noted that the citations as found in Hemacandra's works appear to preserve the language of the original as contrasted with their comparatively modernized language in the *Svayambhūcchandas*.

Parames'varācārya of Vaṭas's'eri

By Raghavan Nambiyar, Baroda.

In the Manuscript Library of the Oriental Institute, Baroda one stray leaf in the beginning of the Malayālam MS. numbered 9886 throws some light on the life story of one Paramesvara.

There it is mentioned that Paramesvara of Vaṭas's'eri was living on the north bank of the Niḷa river on the shore of the sea. He revived the computation of Śaka era and had a son Dāmodara who was the teacher of Nilakaṇṭh Somayājīn, the author of several works such as the Ārya Bhaṭṭiya Bhāṣya, Tantrasangraha etc.

As the portion of the verse cited in the folio "Nilāyāḥ saumya-tīre abdheḥ tīrasthaḥ Parames'varaḥ" is from the Goladīpikā, the authorship should be attributed to Vaṭas's'eri.

Siddhāntadīpikā, a commentary on the Mahābhāskariya Bhāṣya by Govinda is mentioned in Goladīpikā and in Bhaṭṭadīpikā in two places, once at the end of Gaṇitapāda¹ and again in the middle of Golapāda.² In the introductory verses of Bhaṭṭadīpikā the author mentions that he commentated on Līlāvati, Bhāskariyabhāṣya and Laghumānasa. It appears therefore beyond dispute that the above works are written by the same author i. e. Paramesvara of Vaṭas's'eri.

After Bhāskarācārya the science of celestial bodies began to decline in the North India and this ignorance travelled to the South and especially to Kerala. The Kerala scholars thoroughly studied the planetary system and became distinguished in Jyotiṣśāstra. In dealing with horoscopy, Kerala developed a special but more accurate method, and the works³ based on that method show that the system was organised widely in India.

The period beginning from the 10th and ending in the 11th century was a period in which the revival of the Jyotiṣśāstra took

1 शुक्तिः प्रदक्षिता प्राच्या महाभास्करीयभाष्यस्य
सिद्धान्तदीपिकायां विद्यते तथापि संक्षेपात् P.8. Trivandrum Series.

2 तत्सर्वं महाभास्करीयभाष्यस्य व्याख्यायां सिद्धान्तदीपिकायां विस्तरेण
प्रदर्शितं । तस्मादिहास्माभिरनादृतम् ।

3 गोलान्तर्गतमक्षमुजादिकं क्षेत्रं महाभास्करीयव्याख्यायां विस्तरेण प्रदर्शितं
अतोऽत्र न व्याख्यास्यामः । PP. 51, 86, Ed. by Dr. H. Kern.

4 केरळज्योतिष, केरळराजयोगसार etc.

place in Kerala. Parameśvara of Vataśśeri was one of the well known and famous scholars of the period, and was the first astronomer to revive the Dṛk System.

In order that the system may be revived correctly, Parameśvara found it necessary to observe accurately the position of the planets and their daily movements. He selected a suitable place—the sandy bank of the Tirunāvaya river where he could see the planets in the open vast sky. The story is current that the servant who attended him daily became curious to test his master's talent, and raised his sand bed a little higher than usual and spread a cloth thereon. When Parameśvara continued his observation as usual he saw the planets nearer than previously, and thus discovered his servant's trick. His attendant admiring his master's genius told what he did. It is thus probable that the Dṛggaṇita must have been the result of such observations.

Unfortunately we have not come across with this valuable and unique work Dṛggaṇita, but from the references¹ made by other scholars the existence of such a work is known to us.

Parameśvara of Vataśśeri belonged to the Bhārgava Gotra, and Vataśśeri was the name of his house which was situated in Ālathūr² Grāma on the northern bank of the Nila river.

This village in the Ponnani Taluka was once well known as a seat of great learning in different Śāstras. In Kerala history also Ālathūr Sabhā played a prominent part. This village was under the rule of Veṭṭathu Rajas. In course of time Ālathūr lost its importance in historical and literary fields and now it is hardly known but for the god Hanūmān in the Rāma temple.

The works written by Parameśvara are (1) Dṛggaṇita, (2) Laghu Bhāskariya Vyākhyā (3) Maābhāskariya Vyākhyā, Mahābhāskariyabhāṣya Vyākhyā (4) Līlāvati Vyākhyā (5) Laghumānasa Vyākhyā (6) Sūryasiddhānta³ Vyākhyā (7) Āryabhaṭīya Vyākhyā (8) Goladīpikā with Vṛtti.

1 “दृग्गणितनिर्मापकपरमेश्वरपुत्रश्रीदामोदरात्तज्योतिषामयनेन” Āryabhaṭīya-Bhāṣya T. V. P. 180

2 “परमेश्वराचार्यो भार्गवोऽवस्थग्रामजः Siddhāntadarpaṇa Vyākhyā by Nilakanṭha D.C. T. V. Vol. iv, P. 1296.

3 व्याख्यातं भास्करियं लघु तदनु महाभास्करियं सभाष्यं पञ्चाङ्गीकृतं च ग्रहगतिविषयं किञ्चिदन्यच्च येन ।
सौर्यं श्रीरघुप्रसिद्धो वदनजज्ञिशवे सूर्यसिद्धान्तसंस्कृतं
वदयत्यस्यैव गणितविषयं कर्म तत्रैव हि स्यात् ॥

Vol. ii India Office Catalogue.

Parameśvara in his Gola Dīpikā says:

निलायाः सौम्यतीरेऽध्वेः तीरस्थः परमेश्वरः ।
 संक्षेपात् गोळसंस्थानं वक्ति बालाय भार्गवः ॥
 समरेखायाः पश्चादष्टादशयोजनान्तरे ग्रामे ।
 स्वरकृतषट्फलितक्षे वसता शाके अक्षषट्त्रिचन्द्रमिते ॥
 परमेश्वरनाम्नेयं वदनभुवा गोलदीपिका रचिता ॥

(Not seen in the Trivandrum Series. From the MS in the O. I. Baroda). "Parameśvara of Bhārgavagotra who resides on the northern bank of the Nila river on the shore of the sea (Arabian) relates concisely Golasamsthāna for the use of the students. Goladīpikā is written by Parameśvara of Brahmin caste who lived in the year 1366 of the Śaka era, in the village situated at a distance of 18 yojanas west of Samarekhā at 67th akṣa".

In Siddhāntadīpikā¹ he has mentioned his village as situated one Yojana north of the confluence of the Nila river and the sea and also has referred to the local Viṣṇu temple. This temple where Śrī Rāma is installed as Grāma deity is famous now for Hanūmān. It is believed that Ālathūr Hanūmān if remembered while going to bed, sweeps away the bad dreams and nullifies their effects. In Parameśvara's time the principal deity of the temple Rāma must have been prominent, but in the course of time Hanuman the greatest Bhakta of Rāma attained popularity.

Among the works of Parameśvara, Dṛggaṇita seems to be the earliest. According to the chronogram "Triṣu viṣvamite"² the date of Dṛggaṇita is 1353 Śaka (1431 A. D.). The age of Goladīpikā according to the chronogram "Akṣaṣaṭ tri candramite" is 1366 Śaka (1444 A. D.). Thus Goladīpikā is later than Dṛggaṇita by 13 years. During this period the commentaries were probably written by Parameśvara. It is worth while to note that Parameśvara as an astronomer mentioned the dates of his first work Dṛggaṇita and the last work Goladīpikā. From the above chronogram it is seen that he must have been flourished in the middle of the 15th century.

Parameśvara mentions one Rudra as his Guru in the Lilāvativyākhyā, Siddhāntadīpikā and Sūryasiddhāntavyākhyā. 'Śrīmat-

1 निलाध्वोः संगमात् सौम्ये भागे योजनसमिते ।

ग्राममध्ये प्रसारण्ये वसन् जिष्णुः प्रसीदतु ॥ T. V. D. C. Vol. iv, p. 1228.

2 एवं दृग्गणितं शाके त्रीषुविष्वमिते कृतं ।

परमादिश्वरेणैतत् प्रायो भवति दृग्गणनम् । See preface of Goladīpikā, ed. T. Ganapati-Sastri.

28 आ. वि. भा.

Rudrasya śiṣyeṇa', 'Rudraprasādāt' and 'Soyam Śrī Rudraśiṣya' etc. corroborate the statement.

Unfortunately nothing definite is known about this Rudra. Rudra, the commentator on Bṛhat Jātaka presumably is the disciple of Vataśśeri Parameśvara and the Guru of Kalallur Parameśvara whom Nilakaṇḍha mentions thus: "परमेश्वरस्तु रुद्रपरमेश्वरात्मज, नारायण, माधवादिभ्यो गोलविद्भ्यो गणितगोळयुक्तीरपि बाल्य एव सम्यग्गृहीत्वा दृग्गणितं करणं चकार."

Parameśvarātmaja is no other than Dāmodara, the son of Vataśśeri Parameśvara under whom Nilakaṇḍha studied. In the Siddhāntadarpaṇavyākhyā Nilakaṇḍha reverently mentions Vataśśeri Parameśvara as अस्वत्परमगुरुः परमेश्वराचार्यः.

Nana Farnavis's Part in Poona Politics since the Purandhar Treaty upto the Treaty of Salbai

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Lt.-Col. John Upton¹ was dispatched to Poona on the 17th of July 1775 to conclude another treaty between the Maratha States and the E.I. Company in supersession of the previous treaty concluded by the Bombay Government with Raghoba. This action²--nullifying the negotiations of the Bombay Government--made the Marathas to assume a high tone of demand from the English and there was every possibility of the failure of Col. Upton's mission. But soon the circumstances took a different turn and Col. Upton signed the treaty of Purandhar³ on March 1, 1776, 'on the part of the Company's Government and Sakharam Bapu and Nana (Farnavis) on that of the Peshwas'. Nana Farnavis⁴ was instrumental to mention the title (and not the name) of Peshwa--Rao Pandit Pradhan⁵ in the treaty.

But this treaty was not at all liked by the Marathas. Particularly, Nana did not favour it. He declared his view-point later: 'The English must not obtain a footing in the Empire; if they obtain a footing in the Empire the whole country will be in danger'.⁶ It was only Raghoba's action which culminated into signing of Purandhar treaty by Nana and others.

1 He was selected by the Governor-General and Council as Envoy Plenipotentiary on behalf of the Company. See John Briggs: *Autobiographical Memoir of the Early Life of Nana Farnavis*, 1927, p. 28.

2 It 'tended immediately to strengthen the hands of the ministers at Purandhar and.....ultimately cemented the tottering confederacy of the Marathas under the administration of Nana Farnavis'. *Ibid.*

3 Aitchison, 1876, Vol. V. No. VI, p. 28.

4 Nana 'has the sole direction of all current affairs and aspires to the first command, which must devolve to him of course on the death of Succaram Bobboo'. (From an enclosure in a letter of Warren Hastings to Laurence Sullivan, dated 23rd Aug. 1778)

5 'It was supposed that the omission of the name, Madhava Rao Narayan was most likely a precaution, as in case of the child's death, it was probably their intention to get Gangabai to adopt a son'. Briggs: *supra*, p. 29.

6 B. D. Basu: *Rise of the Christian Power in India*, 1931, p. 291.

And with the object of stirring up the resentment of Englishmen, Nana Farnavis entertained one Chevalier de St. Lubin¹ at the poona Court. He was 'met personally, as he alighted from his elephant, by Sakharam Bapu and Nana.'² The main object of his visit was to establish a factory, supported by a military force at Poona and to obtain a seaport at Bombay.³ And with this end he proposed a defensive alliance with the Marathas (through Nana) on behalf of the French Ministry. The terms offered were: (a) Port of Cheul to be ceded to France along with the Forts of Rewadenda; (b) in return, St. Lubin promised to bring 25,000 Europeans to support the ministry of Nana, to raise and discipline 10,000 Sepoys, and to furnish an abundance of military and marine stores.⁴ This liberal attitude shown by the adventurer was due to the fact that he wished to covet the favour of Nana. But this cheat though appeared new⁵ to the Marathas, could not lure away Nana Farnavis, who was inimical to all Europeans.⁶ The demonstration⁷ made by St. Lubin at

1 (i) 'In the middle of March 1777 several Frenchmen, who landed at Cheul in Kolaba went to Poona, and early in May 1777, one of them St. Lubin was received in Poona as an ambassador from France'. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII, Pt. II, 1885, p. 261; (ii) William G. Farmer (of the Bombay Civil Service) happened to be at Poona for the benefit of his health when St. Lubin visited. Farmer had recorded the views current in Poona about St. Lubin in a letter to the Bombay Governor, dated Poona 11-11-1777. It was presumably meant for private information. He says there: 'This St. Lubin is a most perfect adventurer, and I believe has cheated even the ministry of France..... He introduced himself to the confidence of Monsieur de Sartine, as to Indian matters by a memorial presented relative to this country, which Monsieur de Corcelle assures me he has frequently seen. In this memorial he has not forgot himself. He has made himself the generalissimo at one time of Hyder's army, the very man who framed the treaty between him and the Marathas, for which he next day received two lacks of rupees.....' *Bombay Records etc.*, Published by Bombay Government.

2 *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. V. 1929. p. 262.

3 See the letters of J. Madgell and Farmer in *Bombay State Papers (Maratha Series)* p. 291 and p. 296.

4 Briggs: *supra*, p. 30.

5 *Ibid.*

6 *Ibid.*

7 St. Lubin had a painting executed in France to represent the barbarous murder of Narayan Rao in which Raghoba or Raghunatha Rao was concerned. He 'exhibited the picture himself before the Darbar in a burst of grief, which drew tears from some of the spectators'. *Ibid.*

the court that the French hated the English support to Raghoba showed clearly to Nana that the French nation was very low in spirit. But still Nana encouraged him, so that the jealousy of the English may excite.¹ He thought St. Lubin to be a fitter fool for the purpose. M. Botts, 'an avowed agent of the House of Austria' and also the British Envoy received no such civilities as he received. The British Envoy is said to have complained that 'indeed in every respect (Mahrattas) paid the greatest attention to the French'² Charles Malet, a British Envoy at Poona, concurred with the feelings of his predecessors: "As long as Nana remained supreme at the Poona Court they (the British) should never dream of obtaining a firm footing in the Mahratta Kingdom."³

The Bombay Government was alarmed at the reception of St. Lubin by Nana Farnavis at Poona. But suddenly the stream of the Poona Politics⁴ as usual took another course. And the Bombay Government scented some relief from Poona. Moroba Farnavis, the cousin of Nana, planned to instal secretly Raghoba on Peshwa's *guddi* through the help of Bombay Government. Ignorant of the politics of Marathas, the Bombay Government readily gave the approval of the plot.⁵ And the result of such an action was not a new one.⁶ Moroba had to flee away from Poona and had to seek shelter in Gujarat. Nana Farnavis knew the heavy responsibilities

1 *Ibid.*

2 G. W. Forrest: *Administration of Warren Hastings*, 1892, p. 146.

3 Basu: *supra*, p. 291.

4 For several years his (Narayan Rao's) death 'intrigue and counter-intrigue, killings, poisonings, and inter-Mahratta battlings with European leaders on each side, had torn the state of distraction'. G. F. Mackner *The Armies of India*, 1911, p. 42.

5 'The parties in this confederacy are Succaram Babboo, Miraba Furneess, Tuckoojee Holkar and Butchaba Poorbunder, a man of considerable note and influence. Mhadajee Sindia, the associate of Tuckoojee Holkar, as a paper of news mentioned, was at the distance of 60 Coss (120 miles) from Poonah but is probably in the same interest' G. R. Gleig: *Memoirs of the Life of the Right Honourable Warren Hastings*, Vol. II, 1841, p. 215.

6 'History has repeatedly shown the futility, nine times out of ten, of foreign intervention to effect a revolution or to impose a ruler on a country whose people are proud and warlike; for the paths of such enterprises are profusely strewn with empty promises, mutual suspicions, intrigues, treacheries, feuds and bloody scenes of strife and disaster.' A. Mervyn Davies: *Warren Hastings*, 1935, p. 258.

entailed in such dissensions is his own camp and so persuaded Moroba to return. He 'by reminding Sakhārām Bāpu of the evil results of Raghunāthrao's former term of rule at Poona persuaded Sakhārām Bāpu, persuaded Moroba to give up the idea of bringing Raghunāthrao back.'¹ The enjoyment of power under the existing arrangement and Nana's persuasion led Moroba still further to adopt Nana's views and favour St. Lubin and a French alliance.'² Nana also offered to have another ministry including Moroba, Bugoba Purandare and Sakharam Hari.³ But Moroba could not accept Nana's offer. And thinking that if Holkar supports him in restoration and not Nana, he would be placed in a better position. And he was right in contemplating so.

With the arrival of Moroba along with Holkar's troops, Nana retired to Purandhara. After obtaining the necessary assurance of the security of his property, Nana agreed to conduct Raghoba to Poona as Peshwa. But in spite of repeated inquiries of the Bombay Government to achieve the plot planned by Moroba now (after Nana's retirement), Moroba rejected the proposal. Moroba had come to realise the obstacles and loss of the Marathas pointed out by his cousin before, and so he deferred to execute his pre-devised plan. This was characteristic of Maratha Politics, which said: 'A promise made to-day was apt to be withdrawn to-morrow.'⁴ And so the Bombay Government, unknowing it, could not continue to harp on Moroba, for the attitude of Moroba was also changing.

Sudden change in Moroba was the work of Nana's diplomacy. He wished to keep the English out of the sphere till he overthrew

1 He was opposed to Raghoba, because the latter solicited the armed assistance of the the English, which Nana never preferred. To quote the words of a historian: 'Nana Fadnavis avowed his respect and admiration for the English but shrank from their political service; and whatever dangers might impend, he steadily refused to accept their offers of permanent armed assistance.' Torrens; *Empire In Asia*, p. 238, (Panini Office, Allahabad Reprint).

2 *Bombay Gazetteer*, *supra*, p. 262.

3 He was a staunch supporter of Raghoba but in order to persuade Moroba to leave his designs against Nana, the latter agreed to include him too in the cabinet. This man, even put in the jail, could not side with Nana and cried: 'My strength is gone, and my life is going, but when voice, and breath fail, my fleshless bones shall still shout Raghunathrao.' Briggs; *supra*, p. 34 f. n.

4 Davies; *supra*, p. 252.

Moroba's ascendancy, and afterwards when he would retain the supreme power, he would deal with the English with an iron hand. And for the former, he had the underhand policy of introducing the 'French Menace' in the field.

The Bombay Government took serious note of this. Mr Horsley, pointed it out to the Governor-General in a letter¹ of August 2, 1779: 'There was never any apprehension of direct interference with our land (Bombay); there was only the possibility that Nana Fadnavis.....might encourage the French by grants of territory to settle as a barrier between English and Maratha Dominions; and that in consequence, the expansion of our power, and trade might be seriously jeopardised'. Again, the Bombay Government noted: 'If time is given to the French for the French Ministry to take the measure, and to supply Nana with a body of forces, we can expect nothing but a repetition of the scenes of wars and intrigues formerly acted on the coast of Coromandel, which will certainly be fatal to the influence of the English on this coast, and may end in our total subversion'.² Other contemporary records³ of the E. I. Company also show the dread of the French among the English.

But in fact, the English miscalculated the policy of Nana. In effect, notwithstanding appearances Nana Farnavis would have been the great obstacle to the French view had they ever attempted an establishment in the Maratha country⁴. 'His jealousy of Europeans,' says Briggs, 'would never have admitted a French force sufficiently strong even for the expulsion of the English from the small settlement, unless he could have been certain of crushing them afterwards'.⁵ The remark 'If the envoy (St. Lubin) could bring a French Corps to his aid, he would grant his nation an establishment in the Maratha territories',⁶ was true in theory and not in practice. It must be remembered

1 S. M. Edwardes: *The Rise of Bombay*, 1902, p. 193.

2 Forrest: *supra*, p. 147.

3 'Nana.....showed an early disposition to connect himself with the French and still maintains a friendly intercourse with them.' The conjecture continues: 'To this policy seems to have been impelled more by his dread, of the ascendancy of Mahadji Scindia, as it affected his own influence, than by any consideration of the general state.' Forrest: *Selections—Warren Hastings*, MCMX, Vol. II, p. 52.

4 Briggs: *supra*, p. 34.

5 *Ibid.*

6 *Ibid.* p. 35.

that Nana would have been the last man to seek any aid from any European. But the English still felt that Nana was sincere in inviting the French,¹ and this suspense continued for some time.

Nana now asked Mahadji Scindia and Miraj to arrest Moroba. These two lieutenants of Nana, assembled at Porbunder, which meant to threaten Hyder Ali only. But it was a mistake for Moroba to understand so.² He was captured on the 11th July and was sent to Nana by whom he was thrown into Ahemadnagar fortress along with his whole contingent of followers.

Henceforth, the star of Nana was in ascendance and he tried to prop up the tottering Maratha Empire from dissolution. It was his statesmanship and patriotism which made J. Sullivan to write to Col. Briggs in 1850: 'Give us Nana Fadnavis and such like. What poor pigmies we are as Indian administrators when compared with natives of that stamp!!!'³

This revolution at Poona aroused national jealousies against Nana.⁴ His fellow countrymen have doubted the very birth of the young Peshwa⁵ and the sudden death of Gangabai.⁶ But this the family denied. However, the Maratha Chiefs, who were desirous of shaking off the Brahmin ministry, got an opportunity to raise their voices. But the 'deep artifice of Nana Farnavis....succeeded in baffling the designs of his own countrymen.'⁷

1 Intercepted letters of St. Lubin to Goa and Daman for permission to pass two regiments through the Portuguese territories to Poona gave the proof to the English. *Ibid.*

2 This circumstance—trap and deception—is well known in Maratha country, but is not mentioned in English record, and has escaped the notice of Col. Wilks. Grant Duff: *A History of Marathas*. Revised by Edwardes, Vol. II, p. 76.

3 Basu: *supra*, p. 224.

4 Briggs: *supra*, p. 35.

5 Illicit birth of Madhavrao.

6 It is alleged that Gangabai was the cause of her own death, by having taken medicine for the purpose of concealing the consequence of her illicit intercourse with Nana. Briggs: *supra*, p. 30. This point is still controversial, as there are positive proofs against this, and the statement is merely a conjecture of an Englishman, whose abilities in deciphering the Indian records is seriously doubted.

7 *Ibid.* p. 36.

Meanwhile, Warren Hastings had dispatched a force towards Deccan to help the Bombay Government, and upon representation, Scindhia and Holkar had granted the passage for the Bengal army through their territories. Nana miscalculated the effect of the change at Poona on the English.¹ Mostyn called upon Nana to state 'whether he was prepared to carry out the Treaty of Purandhar, and dismiss St. Lubin, with whom he was still coquetting, and to whom it appears he had made certain promises'.² Nana now saw as if 'the kettle was calling the pot black. He had neither the desire to conciliate with the ex-Peshwa (Raghoba) nor to fulfil the terms of Purandhar and to come to terms with the English.'³ He observed: 'The English should keep the treaty faithfully, when they should do the same⁴ and also that he had no relations with the French, as St. Lubin had left Poona already'.

But the Bombay Government could not be satisfied with the reply and so intended to declare war. Nana, getting the information through his intelligence staff,⁵ prepared for war, before English could do anything. Sakharam Bapu was removed from the Cabinet, as he might put some obstacle in Nana's plans. Silladars⁶ were recruited and express orders were sent to Bundela Chiefs to harass the coming Bengal Army. Other Kathiawar Chiefs were approached for help.⁷ Both the camps met at Telegaon first, where Nana's strategy led to Maratha victory. Describing the English fate there, James Douglas says: 'Day after day his *harakaras* dropped in with their ears cut off. But the inevitable one came...stores burnt, heavy guns trundled into Taligaum Tank, and the men, if we can call them such, returned with their wretched compact in forty-eight hours, from the scene of dishonour.'⁸

1 Bombay Government Agent, specially deputed for the purpose.

2 *Camb. Hist.*: *supra*, p. 263.

3 *Ibid.*

4 Basu: *supra*, p. 224.

5 *Ibid.* p. 372. His C. I. D. were on the same footing as we have to-day.

6 A Silladar is a man who provides and keeps his own horse, and receives an average pay in lieu of all charges of his support.

7 'This Nawab (of Cambay) has had very flattering letters from the ministerial Chiefs, but I believe he is too wise to pay any attention to them.' Malet to Rawson H. Boddam. Dated, Cambay, 8th March 1780, See *Poona Residency Correspondence* (Extra Vol.) Ed. by Raghubir Singh, 1940, p. 14.

8 *Bombay And Western India*, 1893, Vol. I, p. 443.

And then again, the famous Waragaon¹ came. Nana showed the might of Shivaji's Empire at Zenith. 'Had Nana Fadnavis been Napoleon Bonaparte, or even our own Edward I—*Malleus Scotorum*—there would not have been a man left to tell the tale, and the whole course of relations with the East Indies would have been changed,' so tells us James Douglas.² And Nana in the right royal manner demanded the person of Raghoba and the territories before Mahdao Rao Bullal, as preliminaries to any negotiation. One of the members of the Negotiating Committee on the English side remarked about Nana's such transactions that 'they seem to me to feel themselves in that situation with respect to us which the Turkish vizier felt himself in regard to Peter the first at the time the Empress Catherine sent her jewels to the vizier.'³

The English were inclined to make a separate alliance with Scindhia, and Nana was pleased to see that⁴ Scindhia's wakil Abaji Sabaji declared to Goddard that his master had experienced the greatest ingratitude and treachery from Nana.⁵ But soon the Bombay Government cancelled the Convention of Waragaon signed by the Negotiating Committee and the war commenced again.

The English reduced the fortress of Bassein, and subsequently defeated the Marathas in the battle of Konkan. Both the factors gave a serious blow to Nana, as the moral effect of the English victory was very great, 'owing to the fact that it (the stronghold of Bassein) had been taken from Portuguese in 1739 and thus represented a victory over Europeans.'⁶

And after some more battles, Nana reluctantly signed the Treaty of Salbai on 17th May 1782, though it was ratified by Peshwa on 24th February 1783. The delay was obvious. 'Nana aspired to

1 Cowley, an English author, bewails over the disaster:

'In all the bonds we ever bore
We grieved, we sighed, we wept
We never blushed before.'

2 *Bombay And etc.*, supra, p. 445.

3 Farmer's letter; Forrest: *Selections (Maratha Series)*, i, pp. 369-70.

4 Nana thought that Scindhia would be 'connecting himself with a man (Raghoba and his ally, English) more likely to be shunned than followed and only dangerous as a political instrument in foreign land.' Briggs supra, p. 269.

5 *Ibid.* p. 47.

6 *Camb. Hist.*: supra, p. 269.

the recovery of all the territories south of Nerbuddah that had ever belonged to the Marathas, whilst Sindia projected the re-establishment of their power in the provinces of Hindoostan.¹

Beside, Nana played the dual game in Poona Politics. He maintained in all the communications with the British authorities an appearance of steadfast alliance with Hyder,² whilst to the latter's envoys 'he affected to be satisfied with the treaty of Salbai and declared that its immediate ratification by the Peshwa could only be prevented by Hyder's restoring the Maratha possessions south of Kistna, which would ensure their cooperation; but if not restored, the Marathas would unite with the English against him.'³ Nana's ulterior views, in case the pending treaty should be ratified, were hostile towards Hyder, as he in that event projected an offensive alliance with Nizam Ally against the usurper of Mysore, from which the English were to be carefully excluded.

Nana's one and foremost aim was to be supreme at Poona and was 'like the Corsicans jealous of their independence and hostile to foreign interference.'⁴ This nobody understood—even his enemies. His own Maratha rivals could not understand the implications of the prophetic words—'a Maratha Chieftain involved in one of his perennial conspiracies, might invite outside aid to gain his ends, but woe was apt to betide the meddler if he was ingenuous enough to place reliance on the promises and pledges made to him,'⁵ and so they failed to oust Nana. And the Europeans, who were ignorant of Nana's diplomacy in toto, could not too think of entering into any form of permanent alliance with him, as is evident from later events.

1 Duff: *supra*, p. 151.

2 Original letters, Records, information and Mahratha MSS—referred by Duff: *Ibid.*

3 Wilks: *South India*.

4 Davies: *supra*, p. 258.

5 *Ibid.*

THE DATE OF LORD BUDDHA, 1793 B. C.

By Dr. D. S. Trivedi, M. A., Ph. D. (Pat.).

Various attempts have been made from time to time by many distinguished Orientalists to settle the date of the historical Buddha. All these scholars relied either on the Alexander-Sandracottus synchronism¹, or on the Ceylonese authorities. No scholar has, so far, taken the pains to fix the date of that exalted personality from the sources of the country of his birth. Certainly the accounts or traditions of the other countries cannot be as reliable as that of Lord Buddha's motherland. 'The Pali names (and I would add sources) are obviously not so authentic as the Buddhists ones from Nepal. The latter were very early translated into the Chinese and have therefore, better claims to confidence.'²

Buddha an Incarnation

It is well known that the Buddha is regarded as the ninth incarnation of Viṣṇu who undergoes through the incarnations³ of Fish, Crocodile, Boar, Man-Lion, Dwarf, Paraśurāma, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, and Kalki to protect the righteous and to destroy the wicked. It may be that Buddhism was exiled from India owing to the apathy of the Brāhmaṇas and hence the absence of any lengthy biographies of the Buddha in the Brahmanic texts. But the fact should not be ignored that the Buddha has been mentioned even in such orthodox Brahmanic texts as the Śrīmadbhāgavata⁴ and other Purāṇas as an important incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu. As a matter of fact although the Buddha did not accept the authority of the Vedas, he never censured⁵ them. Self-control, compassion and non-violence were the main principles of his teachings.

1 The Sheet Anchor of Indian History, *A BORI*, Poona XXIII, 682-92.

2 Rajendralal Mitra's 'The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal,' Calcutta, 1882, p. 8.

3 Matsyaḥ Kūrmo Varahaśca Narasiṃhotha Vāmanaḥ /
Rāmo Rāmaśca Kṛṣṇaśca Buddhah Kalki ca te daśa //

4 Tataḥ Kalau sampravṛtte sammohāya suradviṣām /
Buddho nāmnā janasutaḥ Kikāṣeṣu bhaviṣyati // *Bhāgavata* I, 3, 24.

5 *Dhammapada*, Brāhmaṇavarga.

Why Buddhists were Expelled?

It may be asked as to why the Buddhists, the followers of Lord Buddha an incarnation of Viṣṇu, were expelled from India, while the Jainas in spite of being very strong atheists and deadly opposed to the authorities of the Vedas, remained there. Brāhmanas were inimical to both but the reaction against Buddhism grew more insistent and powerful for political reasons. National tendencies¹ refused to accept a foreign conqueror as an overlord. Whenever a foreign invader happened to be favourably inclined towards Buddhism, he was sure to find some secret sympathisers in the Indian Buddhists all over India. Just as Catholic Spain could always find some important sections in England to sympathise with its efforts to restore a Catholic dynasty in England so it was with the Buddhist invaders. Catholics lost ground in England and Buddhists left India for political reasons. According to Weber², the strict morality required by Buddhism of its adherents became in the long run irksome to the people. The original cult, too, was probably too simple. The Brahmanas knew how to turn both circumstances to the best advantage. Kṛṣṇa worship offered far more satisfaction to the sensual tastes of the people.

Canton Tradition

There is a tradition,³ handed down from teachers to pupils that after Buddha's Nirvāṇa Yiu-po-li (Upāli) collected the Vinaya Piṭaka. Then on the 15th day of the seventh month of that year (after the death of Buddha) when he had received the Tsz-tsz self-throwing of restraint i. e. *Pravāṇa* or invitation, he worshiped the manuscript of the Vinaya Piṭaka. Thus he did every year in the same way. This was handed over from teacher to disciple. In the year A. C. 490 there were 975 dots in all, one dot representing one year. No more dots were added after the seventh year of the Yei-Mei period i. e. after A. C. 490, for want of holy men who entered the path. This gives B. C. 485 (975-490). Relying on the above authority many scholars have tried to fix his Nirvāṇa somewhere between B. C. 487 and B. C. 420, and Professor F. Maxmüller

1 *Hindutva*, by a Maratha, Poona, 1923.

2 *The History of Indian Literature* by Albrecht Weber, London, 1914, p. 289 (Popular edition).

3 *IA*, 1884, p. 149: The True Date of the Buddha's Death, by F. MaxMüller.

supports¹ B. C. 477 as the best working hypothesis. Professor Fachow directed by Prof. Tan Yun Shan of the Cheen-Bhavana, Śāntiniketan, kindly informs² me as follows:—Yei-mai (correctly pronounced Yun-ming) is the name of a period of years of the king Wuti of the Chi dynasty (479–501 A. C.). He held his reign altogether (for) eleven years. He ascended the throne in 483 A. C., known as the first year of the Yei-mai period. Therefore the 7th year of the Yei-mai period must be A. C. 489 and not A. C. 490 as supposed by Maxmüller. Professor Fachow regards B. C. 483 as the date of his (Buddha's) death.

The Period 256

Dr. Fleet³ has tried to determine the date of Buddha's death on the basis of an Aśokan record. The relevant portions are given below:—

Sahasram, lines 6, 7:—Iyam ca savane (read Sāvane) vivuthena duve
sa pamnalāti sata vivuthā ti 200 50 6

Rupanath, 5, 6:—Vyuthena sāvane kaṭe 200 50 6 sata vivasā ta (or ti).
Brahmagiri, line 8:—Iyam ca sāva(ne) sav(a) p(i)te vyuthena 200
50 6.

Dr. Bühler⁴ and Fleet maintain that the words and the numerical symbols are a date and that the passage means that the edict was promulgated when 256 complete years had elapsed, in the 257th year after the death of Buddha. In the Sahasram record he took *Vivuthā* as the Pali nominative plural neuter equivalent to *vyusītāni* 'passed.' He thought *sata* a substitute for the Pali *satta*, a corruption of the Sanskrit *S'āstā*, an appellation of Buddha as the teacher. He took *sata-vivasā* as equivalent to *satthu-vivāsā...śāstrivivāsāt*, since the departure of, in the figurative sense, the death of the teacher i. e. Buddha.

Scholars are at variance regarding the meaning of the two words *vyutthena* and *satavivāsā*. In fact⁵ *vyutthena* and *vivāsa* are the corrupt forms of Sanskrit *vyuṣṭhēna* and *vivāsāt* respectively.

1 MaxMüller's *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, 1859, p. 298f.

2 His letter dated the 11th April, 1940 which I quote with due apology.

3 *JRAS*, 1904, The Date of Buddha's Death as determined by a Record of Aśoka, by J. F. Fleet, pp. 1-26.

4 *JA*, VI. pp. 150-56.

5 *Aśoka ke Dharmalekha*, by Janardana Bhatta, Jñānamandala, Kāśī, Samvat 1980, p. 78.

The word *vyustha* is formed by adding the *kta pratyaya* to the root *vas* with the prefix *vi*. Scholars of the last generation took *vyusthēna* to mean 'departed', but now the majority of scholars are of the opinion that *vyustha* means *pravāsita* or exiled, and it has been used for Aśoka and not for the Buddha. The explanation suggested by F. W. Thomas¹ has thrown much light on the clarification of its meaning. The Rupanath Edict when read along with the Sahasram Edict, gives a clear meaning, 'This Edict was written when 256 nights since my sojourn passed away' or it may mean that 'the Edict was promulgated at a night when Aśoka was on his 256th tour'—an explanation² which is highly plausible in view of the fact that the religious tours of the kings were regularly counted and the kings were a little free at nights, after their overburdened engagements of the days, to arrange and order their personal and private requirements.

Fleet holds that Aśoka came to the throne 218 years³, according to the *Dīpavaṃśa*, after the Nirvāṇa of the Lord Buddha, and he ruled for 37 years. We get 255 if we add 218 to 37. So Aśoka entered the faith in the 255th year from the Nirvāṇa of Buddha, when 8 months had passed in the 256th year. It is not certain as to when Aśoka became a member of the Saṃgha. According to Thomas and V. A. Smith⁴ he joined the Saṃgha in the 9th year of his accession after the conquest of Kalinga; but others, e. g. Bühler and Fleet, are of the opinion that he became a convert in the 30th or 32nd year of his accession to the throne. The accession of Aśoka oscillates between B. C. 274 and B. C. 250.

The various other dates proposed by scholars are B. C. 368, 370, 380, 388 (Kern), 412 (Rhys Davids), 480 (Oldenberg), 482 (Fleet), 487 (Smith in his *Early History of India*), 508 (Smith in his *Aśoka*).

B. C. 543, the Southern Tradition Date.

It is only from the southern sources (Sinhalese, Burmese, and Siamese) that the date of the Buddha is fixed to be B. C. 543 or

1 *IA*, 1908, pp. 19-23.

2 I am indebted to Dr. S. C. Sarkar, Patna, for this suggestion.

3 *Dīpavaṃśa*. VI. 1. Edited and translated by Hermann Oldenberg, 1879.
Dve satāni ca vassāni aṭṭharasa vassāni ca /
Sambuddhe parinibbute abhisitto Piyadassano //

4 *Aśoka the Great*, by V. A. Smith.

near about. The Buddha Samvat current in A. C. 1940 was 2483, and so this would give B. C. 543 (2483-1940) as the initial year of the Buddha Era as current in Ceylon. The Mahāvamśa and the Dipavamśa give B. C. 520 and B. C. 543 respectively as the date of the Lord's *Nirvana*. Dr. K. P. Jayaswal¹ holds that the period of 218 years which is generally stated to be the interval between the *Nirvana* and the coronation of Aśoka, is really the intervening age between the *Nirvana* and the coronation of Candragupta Maurya which took place in B. C. 326. On this hypothesis the *Nirvana* would be placed in B. C. 544 (326+218). But there is hardly any justification to support Jayaswal's view that the period 218 refers to the Candragupta Maurya, and not to Aśoka Maurya, or to any other Aśoka.²

B. C. 638 and the Peguan Date.

'The Bauddha religion having suffered degradation a king Puruṣottama Simha probably of Kamaun (Kāma), re-established it by bowing hereto and constructing a *gandhakuti* or temple of Buddha with the help of two kings, Chinda and Aśokacalla, lord of the Khasa kings of the Sapādalakṣa (Sevālika) mountain. There is an inscription³ on the western side of a neat masonry tank called Dakṣiṇamānasa near the Viṣṇupada at Gayā in the Province of Bihar where Buddha attained Enlightenment. It was inscribed in the year 1813 after *Parinirvāṇa* of Bhagavat (Buddha) in the dark half of the month of Kārttika, the first day, Wednesday'. There is another inscription at Gayā of Sahanapāla, who was a treasurer and a dependent of the Prince Daśaratha, the younger brother of king Aśokacalla, king of kings, lord of the Khasa kings of the Sapādalakṣa mountain dated in 'the expired reign of the illustrious Lakṣmaṇa Sen Deva, Samvat 74, on the 12th day of the dark half of Vaiśākha, Thursday.'

The initial epoch⁴ of Lakṣmaṇa Sena's Era, still occasionally used in Tirhut, is A. C. 1106. This is the time of Prince

1 JBORS, 1916, p. 97, Buddha's Birth Date, by K. P. Jayaswal.

2 The Asokan Inscriptions — Do they belong to Candragupta II ?
Daily Herald, Lahore, February 17, 1906.

3 IA, X, p. 341, an Inscription dated in the Buddha Era, edited by Bhagvanlal Indraji.

4 IHQ, 1934, pp. 728-36, Chronology of the Sena Kings of Bengal (based on astronomical evidence) by D. N. Mookerji. The Lakṣmaṇasena's Samvat was counted from the date of Lakṣmaṇa's birth in A. C. 1106, when Mithila was freed from Buddhist rule. He ruled from A. C. 1168 to A. C. 1206.

Daśaratha, the younger brother of king Aśokacalla, and Puruṣotama's inscription at Gayā is of Aśokacalla, himself¹; and as Daśaratha is not spoken of as having succeeded his elder brother, they must be regarded as contemporaries and the inscriptions of almost the same date. Assuming this the inscription is dated in A. C. 1180 (1106+74). Hence on this authority B. C. 633 (1813-1180), is the date of the Buddha's *Nirvāṇa*. The Peguan date is B. C. 638 and a Chinese one cited by Klaproth is also B. C. 638. As the date of the Gayā inscription probably precedes that of the last by a few years, it will give the date of the *Nirvāṇa* in close agreement with Peguan date, and as Kārttika Badi 9 falls on a Wednesday in Vikrama Samvat 1227 and 1233 corresponding to 28th October, 1170 and 20th October, 1176 A. C. respectively, and as the Peguans and Burmese frequently visited the locality and even erected temples there, it is very probable that the date of the inscription coincides with A. C. 1176, and thus the date of the *Nirvāṇa* assumed in it, is B. C. 638-37 (1813-1176).

B. C. 901

B. C. 901 is said to be quoted by Jachrig from Pall's Mongol Chronology.² According to a well-known principle in chronology, the week-days, *tithis*, and *Nakṣatras* generally repeat themselves on the same day of the Indian sidereal years once in 423 years. The year B. C. 901 does yield week-days closely similar to those yielded by B. C. 478 (601-423). But it gives Wednesday instead of Tuesday.

Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai working from the weekdays recorded for the events of the Buddha's life as given in Bigandet's 'Life of Gaudama' finds that they suit Tuesday, 1st April, 478 B. C., which he regards as the true³ date of the Buddha's death. But with this epoch only one week-day out of the four given in Bigandet can be verified. With Pillai's date B. C. 478 for Buddha's death, we come to B. C. 558 for the year of the Buddha's birth. In this year Vaiśākhi Pūrṇimā occurred

1 See *IA*. XIX. p.7. The corresponding date is May 19, 1194 A. C., Tuesday. But this hardly affects the Peguan date.

2 In Prinsep's Useful Tables, we have B. C. 991 and not B. C. 901 as accepted by Swamikannu Pillai.

3 *IA* IXL. p. 197, True and Exact Date of Buddha's Death, by L. D. Swamikannu Pillai.

on Sunday the 15th April, as against the Friday of the tradition.¹ Hence Pillai went over to the next year B. C. 557, thus making the span of the Buddha's life one of 79 years as against the unanimous verdict of 80 years of all Buddhist chronicles. Similarly on Pillai's calculation the Buddha entered into solitude on Sunday the 22nd (Āṣāḍhī Pūrṇimā) 529 B. C. as against Monday. He makes the Buddha enter into solitude on the next day (Monday). But there was no Pūrṇimā then on his own calculation. Pūrṇimā ended the previous night at about 8 P. M. even long before midnight. He attained Buddhahood or *Nirvāṇa* on Friday the 18th April, (Vaiśākhi Pūrṇimā), 523 B. C. as against Wednesday. Hence Pillai went over to the next year B. C. 522, Wednesday, the 8th April (Vaiśākhi Pūrṇimā). But on his own calculation the Pūrṇimā ended that day at about 2'40 P. M. But from the tradition preserved it is clear that the Pūrṇimā should have continued that day till the next morning: 'In the morning of the Vaiśākhi Pūrṇimā day, Sujātā was preparing her gift...in the evening Buddha defeated Māra...A little before daybreak...on the day of the full moon... the perfect science broke at once over him. He became the Buddha'.

Circa B. C. 1050

When Fahien² was asked, by the monks at his first resting place after crossing the Indus, it could be known when the Day of Buddha first went to the east i. e. went to China, after crossing the Indus, he replied, "When I asked the people of those countries about it, they all said that it had been handed down by their fathers from of old that, after the setting up of the image of Maitreya Bodhisattva, there were Śramanas of India who crossed this river, carrying with them Sūtras and Books of Discipline. Now the image was set up rather more than 300 years after the *Nirvāṇa* of Buddha, which may be referred to the reign of king P'ing of the Chow dynasty.' So the diffusion of the great doctrine in the east began from the setting up of this image of Maitreya who propagated the doctrine in the east.'

1 *The Journal of the Department of Letters Calcutta University*, Vol. XXVII. The True Date of the Buddha and other connected Epochs, by D. N. Mukerji.

2 A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms, being an account by the Chinese Monk Fahien of his Travels in India and Ceylon in search of the Buddhist Books of Discipline, translated and annotated with a Korean Recension of the Chinese Text, by James Legge, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1886, p. 27.

As king P'ing's reign lasted from B. C. 750 to B. C. 719 this would place the death of the Lord Buddha in the eleventh century B. C.—circa B. C. 1050 (750+300).

B. C. 1367

Abdul Fazal Allami, the conscientious writer of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, in giving an account of the Buddhists and their philosophy says:¹ 'From the date of his death to the present time, which is the fortieth year of the Divine Era, two thousand nine hundred and sixty-two years have elapsed. He lived for one hundred and twenty years.'

Since the *Tarikh-i-Ilahi*, or the Divine Era was a solar² year, a modification of the Persian year, and Akbar was enthroned at Kalanour on the 2/3 Rabi II, 963 A. H. (14. 2. 1556 A. C.) and 25 days from the enthronement was counted as part of a year, the Divine year 40 is equivalent to A. C. 1595 (1555+40). So on the authority of Abul Fazal, the Nirvāṇa of the lord would be placed in B. C. 1367 (2962-1595).

Circa B. C. 1616.

The *Maṇimekhalai*, an epic ascribed to Śāttan—the grain merchant of Madura—gives a date, but in a confused manner, of the Buddha. *Maṇimekhalai*, the heroine of the poem, went by the name of Lakṣmī in her previous birth and was the wife of a prince Rāhula. *Maṇimekhalā* is the Tāntrika goddess of the Hinayāna Buddhists like the Tārā of the Mahāyānists. She is essentially a sea-goddess mentioned in the *Mahājanaka Jātaka* and the *Śaṃkha Jātaka*, and protects the devotees from sea-storms. By means of her worship of the Buddha-seat, she had learnt her previous birth. From a pond in the front of the Buddha's seat, a begging bowl named *Amṛtasurabhi* 'appears every year on the day (of the full moon) in the season of the early sun in the month of R̥ṣabha, in the fourteenth asterism, the day on which the Buddha himself was born.'³

1 *Ain-i-Akbari*, translated from the Original Persian by Col. H. S. Jarrett, Vol. III. p. 212.

Cf. The Benares Hindu University Manuscript of the *Ain-i-Akbari* p. 531 line 4 kindly read to me by Dr. P. Saran of the B. H. U:

Darin sāl cabalum Ilāhī az farosudan az do hazar neh sad šast wo do sal sipari....Sad o bast sāl Zindgani kard.

2 V. A. Smith's *Akbar the Great Mogul*, Oxford, 1919, Appendix C, pp. 448-9.

3 *Maṇimekhalai*, in its Historical Setting by Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishna-swami Aiyangar, Indian Edition, 1927, Chapter IX.

Aravaṇa Aḍigal, a venerable monk, says to Maṇimēkhalai that *dharma* is not known to 'the people in this world. But within the circuit of this universe, *dēvas* understand it, and at their request the Dēva will come down again to this world from the Tuṣita Heaven in the year 1616. Then everybody in this world will feel impelled to practise the doctrine of mercy.'¹ The astronomical datum clearly points that the statement has reference to the period,² in the opinion of a profound scholar like Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, anterior to the days of Varāhamihira who is said to have introduced '*Aśvinyūdi* calculation', that is counting from Aśvinī instead of Kṛittikā for the asterism (Viśākhā) would be the fourteenth only if we count it from Kṛittikā and not from Aśvinī.

So it is clear that this epic which belongs to the Sangam—Saṁgha, which is regarded as the Augustan Age of Tamil Literature, is referring to the period prior to Varāhamihira who was a contemporary and one of the nine jewels of the famous Vikramāditya of the first century before Christ. The Śāngam age itself, according to Dr. Aiyangar; a first rate historian, must be regarded pre-Pallava in character and belongs³ to the second century A. C. The whole body of the Śāngam works taken collectively gives us a picture of the Tamil country in a period of great prosperity. It is pity that a distinguished scholar like Dr. Aiyangar let this valued reference pass without due consideration and remarked that these (references) cannot be drawn into evidence for purposes of chronology.⁴

The Ceylonese and Canton Traditions considered.

The Canton tradition is now disbelieved on the following grounds. It is not certain if Upāli was in charge of the eastern mission. If he had been, then only is it possible that his disciples might have taken that identical copy of the Vinaya Piṭaka to China through Burma. The process of adding one dot at the end of every year during 975 years is extremely precarious and many are likely to have been omitted and obliterated. There may not have been worthy disciples and so the dotting might have been ignored for some time. It is not that the Buddhistic learning

1 *Ibid*, Chap. XII.

2 *Ibid*, p. 52.

3 *Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture* by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, Calcutta University, 1923, pp. 15-8.

4 Ante Seq.

stopped all at once in A. C. 490. The priest being a novice may not have been in a position sufficiently equipped to perform the worship in his early years. So there might have been breaks even earlier. Moreover, it runs counter to all their own chronological theories and even the writer himself seems to express surprise that he should find himself so much nearer to the age of Buddha than he imagined.

Dr. J. F. Fleet rightly says¹ that the Buddha died in B. C. 544 or 543 has no basis in any ancient tradition. It is not supported by any thing given to us by the authors of the *Dīpavaṃśa*, or by Buddhaghosa, or by Mahānāma, who wrote the commentary *Mahāvāṃśa* on the *Dīpavaṃśa*. It is simply the artificial result of what was done towards the end of the twelfth century A. C. by the persons who devised the *Buddhavarṣa* and established it as the state reckoning of Ceylon. V. A. Smith—the so-called father of the ancient Indian history—absolutely rejects the Ceylonese chronology prior to the reign of Dutthagāmini in about B. C. 160. According to him ‘the undeserved credit given to the statements of the monks of Ceylon has been a great hindrance to the right understanding of ancient Indian History’.²

It was thought expedient for the good of religion that the landing of Vijaya, the first Buddhist Missionary to Ceylon should be coincident with the death of Buddha. In fact, Vijaya Simha landed in Ceylon exactly in B. C. 543 and hence the erroneous belief amongst the Buddhists that that was the *Nirvāṇa* time of Lord Buddha. Moreover Swamikannu Pillai has shown that none of the proposed dates B. C. 542, 543, 544 satisfy the week-days recorded.

The statement of Fahien cannot be taken into serious consideration for he gives the period in round numbers which are very often doubtful. It seems that the introduction of the religion was, in many cases, regarded the date of the *Nirvāṇa* also.

Other Dates

From the Chinese and Tibetan sources no less than fourteen³ dates have been collected. They are B. C. 546; 576; 653; 752; 837;

1 *JRAS* 1909, p. 5, ‘The Day on which Buddha died’, by J. F. Fleet.

2 Smith’s *Aśoka*, preface, p. 6.

3 Max Müller’s *History of Sanskrit Literature*.

880; 882; 884; 1060; 1310; 2135; 2139; 2148; and 2422. Prinsep¹ quotes the following other dates.

B. C. 835—the epoch of the Era adopted at Lassa, and founded on the average of nine dates, by Padmakarpo who himself, however, rejects them.

B. C. 959—Giorgi (period of Buddha's death).

„ 960—Buddha's death.

„ 1004—Sir William Jones; Japanese Encyclopaedia, birth of Buddha; Matouan-lin, a Chinese historian of the XII century; de Guigne's Researches,

„ 1031—Bailly.

„ 1036—On the authority of a couplet from Chinese historians.

„ 1058—According to Padmakarpo—a Lama of Bhutan who wrote in the XVI century (made known by M. Csoma de Koros).

According to Finlayson the religion of Buddha was introduced in Siam in B. C. 529. Prinsep has tried to explain and reconcile the various dates by assuming that several individuals of the same character have existed at different epochs, or that the system of Buddhism has been at these times revived or re-organised.

Possible Explanations

It seems that people always tried to bring the date of the Lord near their own time. Perhaps the first Buddha was taken to be contemporary with the Mahābhārata war which was wrongly supposed to have been fought in circa B. C. 2448. The intervening age² between the birth of Parikṣita and the coronation of Mahāpadma Nanda was always one of the main factors to bring about the confusion in exact determination of the Lord's *Nirvāṇa*. The *Nirvāṇa*-attainment of Buddhahood and *Parinirvāṇa* were also often wrongly understood. There are three *Parinibbāna*³ in the case of a Buddha. *Kilēsa Parinibbāna* which takes place under the Bodhi tree; *Khandha-Parinibbāna* at the moment of the Buddha's death; and *Dhātu-Parinibbāna* which takes place long after.

1 Useful Tables, part II. p. 32. Calcutta, 1836.

2 *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XIX, pp. 1-16. The Intervening Age between Parikṣita and Nanda, by D. S. Trivedi.

3 *Āḍḍha Nikāya Commentary*, III. 889ff; as quoted by Dr. G. P. Malalasekharā in his 'Dictionary of Pali Proper Names.'

Reconstruction

On the authorities of the inscriptions, Purāṇas, astronomical calculation and the Indian tradition the Mahābhārata war¹ was fought in B. C. 3137. Thereafter the Brāhadrathas,² Pradyotas and Śiśunāgas³ ruled for 100, 138 and 362 years respectively. According to the Buddhistic accounts Buddha attained *Parinirvāṇa* in the eighth year of the reign of Ajātaśatru; but the Rājaguru of Nepal asserts⁴ that the *Nirvāṇa* of Śākya occurred in the eighteenth year of Ajātaśatru.

The Brāhadrathas⁵ ruled from B. C. 3137 to B. C. 2136 and the Pradyotas from B. C. 2136 to B. C. 1998. The reign of some of the Śiśunāga kings may be tabulated as follows:—

Śiśunāga	ruled for 40 years from B. C. 1998 to B. C. 1958
Kakavarṇa	„ „ 36 „ „ „ 1958 „ „ 1922
Kṣemadharmā	„ „ 30 „ „ „ 1922 „ „ 1892
Kṣatraujas	„ „ 40 „ „ „ 1892 „ „ 1852
Bimbisāra	„ „ 51 „ „ „ 1852 „ „ 1801

So it may be calculated that Buddha expired in B. C. 1793-92 (1801-8). And if we add 423 to 1367 we get exactly B. C. 1790, a date which is supported by the Paurāṇika authority, and Abul Fazal also has preserved the right tradition i. e. B. C. 1367 after subtracting 423 years from the exact date B. C. 1790 (1377+423). But if we assign only 20 years to Kṣemadharmā 18 years should be added according to the Rājaguru of Nepal, to reach the date.

It is possible to give another explanation also for the statement of Abul Fazal. He might have been given to understand that the Buddha was born a certain number of years before the Saka Era⁶ whose initial epoch is B. C. 550. But like Kalhaṇa—the

1 (a) *JIH*, XVI, pp 239-48. Five Thousand Years ago—the Mahābhārata war, by D. S. Trivedi. (b) *P. V. Kane's Festschrift Volume*, 1941, pp. 15-25. Ibid.

2 *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress Calcutta*, 1939, p. 150. The Brāhadrataha Chronology, by D. S. Trivedi.

3 *JBORS*, Vol. I. p. 67. The Śiśunāga Chronology by K. P. Jayaswal.

4 Prinsep's Tables, p. 33.

5 *Sāhitya*, Patna, Vol. III, part II. pp. 37-52. Magadha Rajaon ki nayi Vamsavali, by D.S. Trivedi. I have discussed at length the pre-Mauryan Chronology in my forthcoming book '*The Pre-Mauryan History of Bihar*.'

6 *JIH*, XVIII, pp. 48-51.

bard of the Pleasant Valley, he also fell a victim to the then prevalent notion of the Śaka Era whose epoch is known to be A. C. 77-78. On this analogy we can reconcile the date of Nirvāṇa as given by Abul Fazal. Instead of adding 550 years to 1290 B. C. which we get after subtracting 77-78 from 1367, he wrongly gave us the date B. C. 1367 (1290+77) as the date of the *Nirvāṇa*. If we add 550 years and 80 years more we get B. C. 1920 (1290+550+80). But we know that the length of Buddha's life is 80 years and not 120 years as given by the learned writer of the *Ain*. So this difference is 40 (120-80) years. If we subtract 40 from 1920 we get B. C. 1880 (1920-40). But we also know that according to the Ceylonese writers the Buddha died in the eighth, and not the eighteenth (according to the Rājaguru of Nepal) year of Ajātaśatru. This would give a difference of 10 years (18-8). So if we subtract 10 from 1880 we get exactly B. C. 1870 (1880-10)—a date we arrive at independently. And so we may conclude that the Buddha attained Nirvāṇa in B. C. 1790 (1870-80). So the clue to the date of Buddha given by Abul Fazal is very significant and valuable.

Aikṣvāku Dynasty

This date of the Lord is also supported very nearly by the chronology of the Aikṣvāku dynasty¹ given by the various Purāṇas. Nanda the Great vanquished all his contemporary kings and Sumitra the last of the Ikṣvākus was most probably one of them. It has been shown elsewhere that Nanda came to the throne² in B. C. 1636 and hence Śuddhodana, who is the seventh in ascent to Sumitra, might have come to the throne in the nineteenth century before Christ. Buddha is the twenty-fourth in descent from Brhadbala of the Ikṣvāku dynasty. Brhadbala was killed in the Great Indian War fought in B. C. 3137.

Kalhana's Evidence

According to the *Rajataranginī*, when Aśoka came to the throne, Buddhism was at its greatest height. Aśoka³ ruled for 36 years from B. C. 1491 to B. C. 1455. Since Kalhana was unaware of the 35 kings 'merged in the ocean of oblivion,' he could not know exactly as to when the Buddha was born. Prinsep gives B. C. 1332, on the authority of Kalhana Paṇḍita, as the date of

1 *Srimadbhāgavata*. IX.12.9-15.

2 *Sāhitya*, Vol. III. part II. p. 44.

3 *JIH*, XVIII. p. 54. The Revised Chronology of Kāśmīra Kings, by D. S. Trivedi.

Buddha. Kalhana had no knowledge of the successors of Śucināra up to the time of Aśoka. The Revised Chronology of Kāśmīra Kings enables us to know that it was Gālavēndra,¹ who ruled Kāśmīra from B. C. 1803 to B. C. 1758 for 45 years, during whose reign the Lord attained Nirvāṇa.

Kalhana shows his want of accuracy when he says that Kaniṣka flourished 150 years after the Nirvāṇa of the Lord. It was chiefly for want of knowledge of the lost kings that he could not arrive at an exact figure. Kaniṣka² ruled Kāśmīra for 50 years from B.C. 1356 to B. C. 1306. Dr. Fleet takes his stand on the most persistent tradition prevalent in the northern countries that Kaniṣka flourished when more than 400 years had elapsed after the Nirvāṇa of the Lord Buddha. This would bring the Nirvāṇa in the XVII century B. C. i.e. B. C. 1790 (1356 + 400 + ...).

Evidence of Maṇimèkhalai.

The famous (khyātaḥ) Varāhamihira, the court poet of Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī, was born in B. C. 123 on his own statement for he says that when 427 years of the Śaka King had passed, he was born on the earth. By subtracting 427 from 550, the epoch of the Śaka Era, we get B. C. 123. If we add 123 to 1616 we come to a date (= 1739 B. C.) which is so near to B. C. 1790, our calculated date of the Lord. The astronomical datum contained in the Maṇimèkhalai regarding the asterism may also refer to the fourteenth asterism from the *Āślēṣā* which began with the advent of the Kali in B. C. 3101. But it is for the Tamil scholars to judge how far my interpretation is nearer to the idea implied by the text. So the fourteenth asterism would be Dhaniṣṭhā³ which lasted from B. C. 1876 to B. C. 1776. And if the Lord's birth is placed in B. C. 1870 (1790 + 80), it would fall in the fourteenth asterism as asserted by the Maṇimèkhalai.

It has been erroneously supposed that the Lord was born on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha and died on the same tithi. According to the Nirṇayasindhu⁴ his birth is celebrated on the second day of the bright fortnight of Jyēṣṭha, and Dr. S. C.

1 Ibid. p. 48.

2 Ibid. p. 55.

3 JIH, XVIII, p. 13.

4 Nirṇayasindhu II. Cf. *jyēṣṭhaśukladvitīyāyām Buddhajanma bhaviṣyati*.
31 भा. वि. मा.

Sarkar a Tibetan scholar kindly informs me that in the Tibetan monastery this tithi is still regarded as the birth-date of the Lord Buddha. So the Indian record is supported by the Tibetan tradition and it would seem that Buddha attained Nirvāṇa in B. C. 1790. And his anniversary which is celebrated on the Vaiśākhi Pūrṇimā day is wrong.

Were Buddha and Mahāvīra contemporary?

It is now admitted by all that Nātaputta (Jñātrputra) who is commonly supposed to be identical with Mahāvīra or Vardhamāna was a contemporary of the Buddha; and that the *Nigaṇṭhas*—‘without any ties’—already existed as an important sect at the time when the Buddhist Saṅgha was being founded. But it is doubtful if Mahāvīra was a contemporary of Gautama Buddha. It is absurd to say that Mahāvīra died before the Buddha as the Upali Sutta of Majjhima Nikāya says:¹ ‘but then and there hot blood gushed forth from the mouth of Nigaṇṭha Nāthaputta since he was not able to stand the praise of the Venerable One’. In the Sāmagāma Sutta while the Buddha is at Sāmagāma in the land of the Sākya news² is brought to Ānanda by a disciple of the death of Nigaṇṭha Nāthaputta. Even if the traditional date of the Buddha as advocated by the Ceylonese authorities is taken for granted, Lord Mahāvīra died 16 years after the Buddha.

But the fact remains that the Buddhists are referring to a Nigaṇṭha Nāthaputta who cannot be held identical with Lord Mahāvīra, and the conclusion becomes irresistible that some predecessor of Mahāvīra is being referred to. The classical passage³ on the doctrine of Nigaṇṭha Nāthaputta refers to the restraint in four directions—*Caturyāmasaṁvarasaṁvuto*. The Pali *Caturyāma*⁴ is equivalent to the Prakrit *Caturjāma* which is applied to the doctrine which is common to all the predecessors of Mahāvīra to distinguish it from the reformed creed of Mahāvīra which is called *Pañcayāmadharma*.⁵ The Buddhists call Nātaputta

1 *Majjhima Nikāya*. I. 377 ff.

2 *Ibid.* II. 243-51.

3 *Dīgha Nikāya* p. 57 (P. T. S.).

4 *Sacred Books of the East*. Vol. VI, p. 21 (Introduction).

5 The *Caturyāmas* are non-violence, truthful speech, non-stealing, and renouncing all attachments, to which Mahāvīra added Celibacy the fifth.

an *Aggivesāna*¹—i. e. *Agnivaiśyāyana*. But, according to the Jainas, Mahāvira was a Kāśyapa,² and we may credit them in such particulars about their own Tirthaṅkara.

Moreover, the Buddhist texts generally call Nigaṇṭha the Nāthaputta and sometimes Nātaputta also. But the Jainas always say that Mahāvira was brought up in the family of the Jñātr̥s.³ Dr. Babu Rama Saxena of the Allahabad University in his letter of the 5th September, 1940, kindly informs me as follows: 'Jñāta or Jñāti may be transformed into *naya*, *nāi*, *ñāya*, or *ñāi*, but *nātha* cannot be changed into *nāya* or *nāi*. The Prakrit rendering of *nātha* should be *nāha* or *nāha*. The *mahāprāna* letters have not undergone transformation to this extent, as I know. The *ya* of *nāya* denotes the disappearance of some consonant.'

Buddhist works do not mention Ceṭaka, king of Vaiśālī, but they mention Siha only of Vaiśālī. We are unable to understand why the Buddhists took no notice of him. Vaiśālī used to be a stronghold of Jainism, while it was being looked down upon by the Buddhists as a seminary of heresies and dissent. According to the Buddhists the government of Vaiśālī was vested in a senate composed of the nobility and presided over by a king who shared the power with a viceroy and a general-in-chief. The Jaina text⁴ refers to the 18 confederate kings of Kāśi and Kosala, the Licchavis and the Mallakis only and to king Ceṭaka of Vaiśālī. It is a wonder that two Kṣatriyas should found sects in opposition and disregard of each other, and of the authority of the Brāhmanas. Had these two distinguished reformers lived at the same time and in the same part of the country, with set ideas of reform of the existing Brahmanic religion, it is very likely that they should have met together and put a united front to undermine the authorities of the Vedas and the Brāhmanas.

Moreover, the Buddhists refuted, and referred to, the Jaina theories which existed long before the advent of Mahāvira or even Pārśva, and still the Jainas did not think it worthwhile to take any notice of the Buddhists which were already dwindling into insignificance in the sixth century B. C., when Śaṅkarācārya and

1 *S.B.E.* Vol. VI. p. 21. (Introduction).

2 *Uttarādhyayana*. II. 2.

3 *S. B. E.* Vol. VI. p. 248.

4 *Nirayāvali Sūtra*, edited by Warren, p. 27.

Kumārila rose in India for the propagation of the Vaidika Dharma. So we may conclude that Lord Buddha was born in B.C. 1870 and flourished long before Mahāvira had seen the light of the world, and they cannot be regarded contemporary by any stretch of imagination. I hope learned scholars would kindly consider it dispassionately and oblige me with their learned criticisms.

P. S. The article was written in 1941 and presented to the Indian History Congress Session, Hyderabad. Only a summary of it was published in its proceedings. The article was sent to the late Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Editor, *Journal of Indian History* Madras, for kind study and publication. Due to various reasons it could not be published earlier. He made the necessary corrections in it in his own writing and had asked me to revise it in the light of his suggestions before publishing it. Unfortunately he passed away late in 1946 to the great loss of the scholarly world.

I requested a distinguished scholar of the Government of India to go through it at his leisure and kindly suggest the lines of improvement. He has been graciously pleased to go through it and asked me to incorporate the following general criticisms in this connection.

The Aryan invasion of India has to be thrashed aside and it would be in conflict with all the archaeological evidences. The traditional date of the Mahābhārata War has been taken for granted as well as the Śaka Era with its initial epoch at 550 B. C. Kalhan's earlier dates are not acceptable and Abul Fazl is unreliable. In his opinion everything in Indian history is unsettled and the history of India has yet to be written. However, he has an open mind on the question.

As regards the Aryan invasion of India the present writer has already tried to prove in the pages of the *Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XX. 49-67 that the Aryan invasion of India is a pure and simple myth and I challenge the scholarly world to prove it otherwise. The opinion of a veteran scholar like Rev. H. Heras also may be read with interest and advantage in this connection.

"After the study of 1,800 inscriptions deciphered, it is easy to realize that the wave of migration of the Mediterranean race

which was supposed to have been from West to East, must now be finally settled as having taken place in the opposite direction, i. e. from East to West. The development of the script of Mohenjo Daro in relation with the Sumerian script, the religion of these two countries and that of Egypt, the titles of kings, the number of zodiacal constellations, the changing of the proto-Indian constellation of the Harp (yal) for Taurus (the Bull) which must have taken place in Sumer, the tradition of the ancient people of Mesopotamia recorded by Berosus, the parallel Biblical account in genesis II. I-5 all point to the same conclusion that the migration of the Mediterranean race commenced from India and extended through Southern Mesopotamia and northern Africa, spread through Crete, Cyprus, Greece, Italy and Spain, crossing the Pyrenes reached Central Europe and the British Isles". (*J. I. H. XVI. p. 11*).

As regards the data of Mahābhārata War, the writer does not believe only in hearsay, but has examined the question at length in the pages of the *Journal of Indian History* and the *Festschrift Kane*, 1941, and it is open to the scholars to disprove it. The tragedy of Indian history is that dates and synchronisms have been forcibly taken for granted especially when they are opposed to the Indian tradition and evidence. All the ancient chroniclers of India have made it a point to narrate their accounts with the Mahābhārata War as their starting point. It is high time that scholars should come forward to ascertain the exact date of the Kurukṣetra War. The exact significance of the Śaka Era of 550 B. C. will be discussed in a subsequent paper.

There is no reason why Kalhana's earlier dates should be discarded. The learned readers' attention is drawn to the 'Revised Chronology of Kasmir Kings' in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XVIII. He explicitly says "Eleven works of former savants containing the annals of royalty have been scrutinized by me as well as the views of Sage Nila. By the inscriptions, ordinances of former kings relating to religious foundations and grants, laudatory inscriptions as well as written records all wearisome errors have been set at rest" (I. 14, 15). If Abul Fazl is unreliable there is no reason why Sir William Jones, Prinsep, Smith and Bhandarkar should be more reliable. It is not the personality but the statement and facts behind it that should count.

Since then the writer has come across another evidence which supports the date propounded herein. Assuming B.C. 477

as the most working hypothesis, in the opinion of Max Müller, on astronomical and other grounds we can easily arrive at B.C. 1793, if we take for granted that two Great Years of 658 ordinary years each had been omitted since then. Scholars' attention is drawn to the *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, VI. 117-22, 'A New Sheet Anchor of Indian History'. Taking our stand on it we can say that the Lord attained Nirvāṇa in B. C. 1793 ($477 + 653 + 658$). This date is further supported by Indian chronology as well. We have only to subtract regnal years of 32 Bārhadhrathas, 5 Pradyotas and the five Śīsunāgas, which total ($1,001 + 138 + 40 + 36 + 30 + 40 + 51 =$) 1336 from the date of the Bhārata War. Thus we get B.C. 1,801 and as the Buddha expired in the eighth year of Ajātasatru's reign we reach exactly B.C. 1,793 ($1,801 - 8$) as the Nirvāṇa date of the Lord. Thus the proposed date varies between B.C. 1793 and B.C. 1790 only. I leave it for the scholars to take it for what it is worth.

Corrigenda

In the article INDIA AS DESCRIBED BY MEDIAEVAL EUROPEAN TRAVELLERS; 4. FABULOUS AND IMAGINARY STORIES by Dr. Ludwik Sternbach (Bhāratīya Vidyā VIII; Nos. 5, 6 & 7; pp. 105–120), when in the footnotes reference is made to:

“Same MS. as *sub* 3” read “Latin MS. BN. Lat. 3195 in Paris”

“Same MS. as *sub* 4” ,, “French MS. BN. fr. 5649 in Paris”

“Same MS. as *sub* 5” ,, “Latin MS. BN. Reg. 140 III in London”

“Same MS. as *sub* 9” ,, “Italian MS. In Ramusio’s *Delle Navigazioni e Viaggi*”

“Same MS. as *sub* 10” ,, “French MS. BN. fr. 1116 in Paris”

“Same MS. as *sub* 13” ,, “Venetian MS. BM. Sloane 251 in London”

“Same MS. as *sub* 21” ,, “Venetian MS. Civ. C. N. 211 in Padua”

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A RARE MANUSCRIPT OF THE VEDABHĀṢYASĀRA OF BHATṬOJI DĪKṢITA

By P. K. GODE, M. A.

In the list of works recorded by Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* under the entry¹ “भट्टोजिदीक्षित” no work of the name “वेदभाष्य” or “वेदभाष्यसार” is recorded. Rao Bahadur W. A. Bambardekar also makes no mention of any such work in his recent work² on Bhaṭṭoji while giving a complete list³ of Bhaṭṭoji's works. In view of these facts and in view also of the absence of reliable data regarding Bhaṭṭoji's life and personality I was interested to know from Pandit Raghunātha Kṛṣṇa Pāṭankar of Rajapur⁴ that he has come across a rare MS. of *Vedabhāṣyasāra* of Bhaṭṭoji. Paṇḍit Pāṭankar was also kind enough to send me a copy of this MS. made by himself together with a description⁵ of the original.⁶ Realizing the importance of this work for the history of Sanskrit literature in general and for the history of Bhaṭṭoji's works in particular, I take this opportunity of thanking Paṇḍit Pāṭankar for the materials for this paper sent by him and at the same time acquainting all

1 CC, I. p. 325.

2 *Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita Jñātiviveka*, Bombay, 1939.

3 I note here for ready reference the names of 34 works ascribed to Bhaṭṭoji as given by Rao Bahadur Bambardekar:

अद्वैतकौस्तुभ, आचारप्रदीप, आशौचनिर्णय, आह्निकम्, कारिका, कालनिर्णयसंग्रह, गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय, चतुर्विंशतिमुनिवरव्याख्या, चन्दनधारणविधि, जातकालङ्कार, तत्त्वकौस्तुभ, तत्त्वविवेकदीपनव्याख्या, तन्त्रसिद्धान्तदीपिका, तन्त्राधिकारनिर्णय, तर्कामृतम्, तिथिनिर्णय, तिथिनिर्णयसंक्षेप, तिथिप्रदीप, तीर्थयात्राविधि, त्रिखलीसेतुसारसंग्रह, तैत्तिरीयसंध्याभाष्य, दशश्लोकीव्याख्या, दायभाग, धातुपाठनिर्णय, प्रायश्चित्तविनिर्णय, प्रौढमनोरमा, बालमनोरमा, भट्टोजिदीक्षितीय, भट्टोजिभट्टीय, मासनिर्णय, लिङ्गानुशासनवृत्ति, शश्वकौस्तुभ, श्राद्धकाण्ड, सिद्धान्तकौमुदी. The authorship of Bhaṭṭoji in the case of many of the above works is well known. It is worth while examining doubtful cases.

4 In the Ratnagiri District of the Bombay Presidency, Pt. Pāṭankar is associated with the the Sanskrit Pathashala at Rajapur. There is a Collection of Sanskrit MSS. at this Pathashala.

5 The MS. of *Vedabhāṣyasāra* is old and in a decaying condition. It was procured by Pt. Pāṭankar from his guru, the late Bāls'āstri Māipkar of Khārepāṭan at some distance from Rajapur. The full name of Bāls'āstri is “Bālakṛṣṇa Lakṣmaṇa Māipkar.”

6 The original MS. is now deposited with the Sanskrit Pāthashala, Rajapur.

students, of Sanskrit literature with the contents of this work in brief.

The copy of the *Vedabhāṣyasāra* before me consists of 16 foolscap pages (about 29 lines to a page) and begins as follows:

“ॐ

वागीशायाः सुमनसः सर्वार्थानामुपक्रमे ।

यं नत्वा कृतकृत्याः स्युस्तं नमामि गजाननम् ॥ १ ॥

माधवाचार्य^१रचिताद्देवभाष्यमहार्णवात् ।

भ्रीमद्वेजीदक्षितेन सार उद्घ्रियतेधुना ॥ २ ॥

एतस्मिन्मथमोऽध्यायः श्रोतव्यः संप्रदायतः ।

व्युत्पन्नावता सर्वं बोद्धुं शक्नोति शुद्धधीः ॥ ३ ॥

अध्ययनविधेरर्थावबोधपर्यंतं व्यापार इति भाट्टादिमते अर्थज्ञानमावश्यकमिति स्पष्टमेव अध्वरप्रह.....इति विवरणाचार्यादिमतेपि” etc.

The colophons of the 12 *vargas* of the work are as follows :

- | | |
|------|-------------------------------------|
| Page | 5—“समाप्तो वर्गः” |
| ” | 6—“द्वितीयो वर्गः” |
| ” | 7—“तृतीयो वर्गः” |
| ” | 8—“चतुर्थो वर्गः” |
| ” | 9—“पंचमो वर्गः” |
| ” | 10—“षष्ठो वर्गः” |
| ” | 11—“सप्तमो वर्गः” |
| ” | 12—“अष्टमो वर्गः” |
| ” | 13—“नवमो वर्गः” |
| ” | 14—“दशमो वर्गः” |
| ” | 15—“एकादशो वर्गः” |
| ” | 16—“इति द्वादशो वर्गः ॥ शिवाय नमः ॥ |

The evaluation of present work must be left to the students of Sanskrit grammar as the comments of Bhaṭṭoji set forth herein are preponderantly grammatical. That the present work is Bhaṭṭoji's own production is proved by verse 3 quoted above, which explicitly states that Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita has composed this *Sāra* on the basis of the *Vedabhāṣya* of Mādhavācārya. In the history of

1 Paṇḍit Pāṭankar's remarks on this manner of mentioning the author of the *Vedbhāṣyasāra* may be noted here:

“दीक्षितैः स्वीयव्याकरणग्रंथे श्रीवेदभाष्यकाराणां माधवाचार्याणां यत्र स्वमतसमर्थने समुल्लेखः क्रियते तत्र “वेदभाष्यकाराः” इति सादरं उच्यते, यत्र तेषां खण्डनं तत्र “यसु माधवेनोक्तं” इति सामान्यतोऽप्येकवचनं विधीयते.” If this observation is correct we must regard the great grammarian as a “singular” controversialist in line with other great Paṇḍits of his age.

the commentators of the Veda this work of Bhaṭṭoji though brief may have its own place in view of Bhaṭṭoji's reputation as a grammarian. My interest in the present work is purely of a historical nature as I have been studying of late the historical background of Bhaṭṭoji and his pupils and have published so far¹ some papers pertaining to this field.

Bhaṭṭoji refers to the following works and authors in his *Vedabhāṣyasāra*.

- (1) माधवाचार्य P. 1.
- (2) वेदभाष्य (माधवाचार्यरचित), P. 1.
- (3) भाट्टादिमते, P. 1.
- (4) विवरणाचार्यदिमते, P. 1.
- (5) महाभाष्य, P. 1.
- (6) स्मर्यते, P. 1.
- (7) सूत्रकार, P. 2.
- (8) ऋग्विधान, P. 2.
- (9) श्रुतेः, P. 2.
- (10) प्रातिशाख्यात्, P. 3, 7.
- (11) तैत्तिरीयाः, P. 3.
- (12) हरदत्तः, P. 5.
- (13) यास्कः, P. 7. 8.
- (14) उत्तररत्ने,² P. 14. ("पक्षसी तु स्मृतौ पक्षावित्युत्तररत्ने")

I have recorded above whatever data could be gathered from the copy³ of the MS. supplied to me by Pandit Raghunāth

1 These papers are: (1) *A New Approach to the Date of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita* (*Annals*, Tirupati, S. V. Ori. Institute, Vol. 1, pt. 2. pp. 117-127) and (2) *Varadarāja, a pupil of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita and His Works—Between A. D. 1600 and 1650* (*Festschrift*, Prof. P. V. Kane, 1941, pp. 188-199) I have projected a paper on Nilakanṭha S'ukla another pupil of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita who wrote between 1637 and 1656 A. D.

2 "उत्तररत्ने" is possibly a mis-reading for "उत्तरतन्त्रे" vide my note on उत्तरतन्त्र (*Annals*, B. O. R. Institute, Vol. XXI, 1940, p. 133 footnote 1). उत्तरतन्त्र is part of a lost work on lexicography. It is mentioned by Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita in his Commentary on the *Vāsavadattā*, which I have assigned to the period "between A. D. 1250 and 1550." See also Aufrecht CC, 1, 63. Bhaṭṭoji's reference to उत्तरतन्त्र evidently supports my evidence, उत्तरतन्त्र is not recorded by Prof. Rāmāvatāra Śarmā in his list of *Kośas* (Pages LV-LXII of Intro. to *Kalpadrū-Kośa*, Vol. I, G. O. S. Baroda. 1928). Perhaps someday we may recover this lexicon.

3 Since this paper was drafted Pt. Pāṇkar has sent me the original MS. of the *Vedabhāṣyasāra*. It consists of 9 folios (Size: 11½" × 4¾"); 14 lines

S'āstrī Patankar and I now leave it to scholars to see if the present MS. is a fragment of a larger work of Bhaṭṭoji of the title *Vedabhāṣyasāra* or is a complete work by itself. It is also necessary to examine other works of Bhaṭṭoji with a view to see if he has quoted this *Vedabhāṣyasāra*¹ in any of them,

to a page, 55 letters to a line. The MS. is written legibly on country paper. It is quite old and worn out. It appears to be about 250 years old and may belong to the 17th century.

- 1 Dr. V. Raghavan of the Madras University of whom I inquired about other MSS. of this work writes on 3-7-1941: "We are not able to find any other MS. of a *Vedabhāṣyasāra* by Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita.

प्रास्ताविकम् ।

ॐ ऋचो अक्षरे परमे व्योमन्
यस्मिन्देवा अधि विश्वे निषेदुः ॥
यस्तन्न वेदु किमुचा करिष्यति
य इत्तद्विदुस्त इमे समासते ॥

अस्त्यर्षसागरोपान्ते पूर्वस्यां दण्डकं वनम् ।
सह्याद्रेश्चात्र प्रतीच्यां देशः कौङ्कणसंज्ञकः ॥
विश्रुतं प्राक्तनात्कालाद्यत्रास्ति नगरं शुभम् ।
नाम्ना राजापुरं नद्योः संगमे सागरस्य च ॥
राजते यत्र पूर्वस्यां गङ्गा शैलकटीतटे ।
चतुर्दशसु कुण्डेषु प्रादुर्भवत्यमीक्षणः ॥
पादेऽनादिश्चोष्ण उत्सो नातिदूरं नदीतटात् ।
धूतपापेश्वरः श्रीमानार्तत्राणपरायणः ॥
शङ्करो यस्य प्रतीच्यां स्वयम्भूस्तटिनीतटे ।
नगरेऽत्राब्दशतार्धात्प्राक् संस्था संस्थापिता शिवा ॥
श्रीसंस्कृता पाठशाला श्रीमद्बोर्दवण्कराभिधैः ।
अधीतिभिरनन्ताख्यैरुद्यमव्यवसायिभिः ॥
तत्रालयः संस्कृतानां ग्रन्थानां वरिवृत्त्यते ।
अयुतार्धाधिका संख्याऽधुना येषां विराजते ॥
लिखितानां मुद्रितानामन्येषामपि संस्कृतात् ।
क्षारपट्टनग्रामस्था हरिभक्तिपरायणाः ॥
श्रीपरमगुरुपादाः श्रीमन्तो बालशास्त्रिणः ।
माह्वणकरान्ववायरत्नाकरसुधांशवः ॥
मूर्तिमञ्जानकोशा ये नैकशास्त्रविशारदाः ।
दत्तवन्तः सहस्रार्धं ग्रन्थानां विविधात्मनाम् ॥
विद्यमाना तत्र जीर्णा लिखिता पुस्तिका त्रिवयम् ।
ऋग्वेदभाष्यसारस्य भट्टोजीदीक्षितस्य वै ॥
माधवाचार्यऋग्वेदभाष्यं संक्षेपितं त्विह ।
केवलं तत्र वर्तन्ते वर्गा द्वादश चादिमाः ॥
शिवाय नम इत्यन्ते पुस्तिकाया बिलोक्यते ।
लेखकेन ततश्चास्या लिखितं न ह्यनन्तरम् ॥
अथाप्येतावतो भागादखिलो ह्यनुमीयते ।
कृतो भट्टोजिना सारो दीक्षितेन विपश्चिता ।
माधवाचार्यभाष्यादिभ्य परिचेतुं न ये क्षमाः ।
ते भूयासुरलं चास्य सारस्यापि परिग्रहात् ॥
वर्तितव्यं विपश्चिभिः सारसंपादने भृशम् ।

उपलब्धौ तस्य महालाभो गीर्वाणवाङ्मये ॥
 जिज्ञासूनां वेदार्थस्य महत्युपकृतिर्भवेत् ।
 स्थलेषु कचिदरूपेषु माधवो नोररीकृतः ॥
 श्रीमद्भट्टोजिना “मर्याः कविकृतु”निर्दर्शनम् ।
 स्कन्दस्वामी वेङ्कटादिर्माधवो भाष्यकृद्भूयम् ॥
 प्राक्तनं माधवाचार्याद् भास्करोऽपि तथैव च ।
 पुस्तिकालेखसमये स्कन्दवेङ्कटमाधवाः ॥
 त्रयोऽवलोकिताः प्रायश्चेह जिज्ञासया मया ।
 पाटणकरान्ववायरुक्मिणीकृष्णसूनुना ॥
 सुधिया रघुनाथेन राजापुरनिवासिना ।
 दत्तात्रेयजनार्दनगुरुयुग्मपदाम्बुज-
 रजोजुषा द्विरेफेण विदुषामनुयायिना ।
 अंगाक्षगजभूषाके भावेऽब्दे प्रतिमाऽऽदिमा ॥
 द्वितीया लिखितैतर्हि वृषसंवत्सरे शुभे ।
 अङ्गयङ्गवसुभूषाके कार्तिके सप्तमीरवौ ॥
 शुक्ले कृता मुद्रणार्थं यथामति यथायथम् ।
 संयोजिता ऋचश्चात्र पदान्यपि ऋचां तथा ॥
 विदुषामुपयोगार्थं नास्ति यन्मूलपुस्तके ।
 ह्यताऽऽवेदनेनालं विस्तरो न विधीयते ॥

आभिर्गोर्भिर्यदतो न ऊनमाप्यायय हरिवो वर्धमानः ।
 यदा स्तोतृभ्यो महि गोत्रा रुजासि भूर्यष्टभाजो अर्ध ते स्याम ॥

॥ हरिः ॐ ॥

ऋक्संहिता-सपदपाठा ।

श्रीभट्टोजीदीक्षित-प्रणीत-वेदभाष्यसा समन्विता ।

ॐ वागीशाद्याः सुमनसः सर्वार्थानामुपक्रमे ।

यं नत्वा कृतकृत्याः स्युस्तं नमामि गजाननम् ॥ १ ॥

माधवाचार्यरचिताद्वेदभाष्यमहार्णवात् ।

श्रीभट्टाजीदीक्षितेन सार उद्ध्रियतेऽधुना ॥ २ ॥

एतस्मिन्प्रथमोऽध्यायः श्रोतव्यः संप्रदायतः ।

व्युत्पन्नस्तावता सर्वं बोद्धुं शक्नोति शुद्धधीः ॥ ३ ॥

“अध्ययननिधेरर्थावबोधपर्यंतं व्यापार” इति भट्टादिमतेऽर्थज्ञानमावश्यकमिति स्पष्टमेव “अक्षर-ग्रह(णान्त)त्वं” इति विवरणाचार्यादिमतेऽपि “ब्राह्मणेन निष्कारणो धर्मः षडंगो वेदोऽध्येयो ज्ञेयश्च” इति महाभाष्योदाहृतवाक्यांतराद् वेदार्थज्ञानमावश्यकं । तत्र हि निष्कारणब्रह्मदेवाध्ययनज्ञानयोः कान्धत्वं वार्यते ॥ किं च ज्ञानस्तुत्यज्ञाननिंदयोस्तत्र तत्र श्रवणाद् “यस्तुत्यसे तद्विधीयत” इति न्यायेनार्थज्ञानस्य विधिरभ्युपगंतव्यः । तथा च यास्कोदाहृतं श्रुतिद्वयं ।

स्थाणुरयं भारद्वाजः किलाभू-

दधीत्य वेदं न विजानाति योऽर्थम् ।

योऽर्थज्ञ इत्सकलं भद्रमश्नुते ।

नाकमेति ज्ञानविधूतपाप्मा ॥

यद्वहीतमविज्ञातं निगदेनैव शब्द्यते ।

अनन्नाविव शुष्कैधो न तज्ज्वलति कर्हिचित् ॥

तथा “उत त्वः पश्यन्” इत्यादिमंत्रा अप्यत्रार्थे बोध्याः । तथा ऋष्यादिज्ञानसम्प्रावश्यकम् । तथा च श्रूयते “यो ह वा अविदितार्षेयच्छंदोदैवतब्राह्मणेन मंत्रेण याजयति वाध्यापयति वा स्वाणुं वर्धति गर्तं वा पश्यते प्र वा मीयते पापीयान् भवति तस्मादेतानि मंत्रे मंत्रे विद्यात्” इति । स्मर्यते च—

अविदित्वा ऋषिं छंदो दैवतं योगमेव च ।

योऽध्यापयेत्तप्रेक्षापि पापीयान् जायते तु सः ॥

ऋषिच्छंदोदैवतानि ब्राह्मणार्थं स्वराद्यपि ।

अविदित्वा प्रयुजानो मंत्रकंटक उच्यते ॥

स्वरवर्णाक्षरं मात्रा विनियोगोऽर्थ एव च ।

मंत्रं जिज्ञासमानेन वेदिसक्यं पदे पदे ॥ इति ।

तत्र अग्निमील इत्याद्यं सूक्तं नवर्षम् विश्वामित्रपुत्रो मधुछंदा ऋषिः अग्निदेवता गायत्री छंदः । तथा चातुर्कांतं “अग्निं नव मधुछंदा विश्वामित्र” इति । देवसाछंदसी तु परिभाषाबलेन लभ्येते ॥ मंडकादिषु “आग्नेयमैत्राण” इति । “आदौ मन्त्रं प्राग्विरण्वस्तुपाठ” इति च ॥ शिरण्वस्तुपाठ्य

ऋषिर्येषां मंत्राणां वक्ष्यते ततः प्राचीनेषु मंत्रेषु गायत्रं छंद इत्यर्थः । विनियोगस्तु कृत्स्नत्वान्नायस्य ब्रह्मयज्ञे पारायणादौ च प्रसिद्धः । विशेषविनियोगस्तु तत्तत्कृतौ सूत्रकारेण प्रदर्शितः । ऋषिधाना-
दितोऽप्यवगंतव्यः ॥

ॐ अग्निमीळे पुरोहितं यज्ञस्य देवमृत्विजम् ।

होतारं रत्नधातमम् ॥ १ ॥

ॐ अग्निम् । ईळे । पुरःऽहितम् । यज्ञस्य । देवम् । ऋत्विजम् ॥

होतारम् । रत्नऽधातमम् ॥ १ ॥

अथ प्रतिमंत्रं व्याख्या । अग्निमिति अंगति ऊर्ध्वं गच्छतीत्यग्निः ऊर्ध्वज्वलनस्वभावत्वात् ॥ स्वर्गे हविर्नैतुं गच्छतीति वा ॥ तं देवं धोतनादिगुणयुक्तं ईळे सौमि । कीदृशं । यज्ञस्य पुरोहितं पुरोभागे आहवनीयरूपेणावस्थितं । किंच होतारमृत्विजम् होतृनामकमृत्विजम् । “अग्निर्वै देवानां होता” इति श्रुतेः । अपि च रत्नधातमं यागफलरूपाणां रत्नानां अतिशयेन धारयितारं पोषयितारं वा रत्नानां धनानामिति वा । मघमित्यादिधननामसु रत्नशब्दस्य पाठात् । अग्निधातोर्गत्यर्थात् “अग्नेर्नलोपश्च” इत्यादिनाऽव्ययपूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरे तदपवादे तत्पुरुषे “तुल्यार्थे-” इत्यादिनाऽव्ययपूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरे तदपवादे “गतिकारकोपपदात्कृत्” इति कृदुत्तरपदप्रकृतिस्वरे च प्राप्ते “गतिरनंतर” इति पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वम् । “पुरोऽव्ययम्” इति पुरःशब्दस्य गतित्वात् संहितायां तु आद्याक्षरस्य प्रचये प्राप्ते “उदात्तस्वरितपरस्य सन्नतर” इति अतिनीचोऽनुदात्तः । यद्यपि पदकाले हितशब्दांतर्गतस्येकारस्य स्वरितत्वं दुर्लभं उदात्ता-
परत्वाभावात् । “मात्रा ह्रस्वस्तावदवग्रहांतर”मिति प्रातिशाख्येऽवसानविधानात् । अत एव तैत्तिरीया अनुदात्तमेवाधीयते तथापि “यथा संधीयमानानामनेकीभवतां स्वरः । उपदिष्टस्तथा विद्यादक्षराणा-
मवग्रहे” । इति प्रातिशाख्येऽतिदेशादिष्टसिद्धिः ॥ यज्ञस्य । “यजयाचयतविच्छ्रप्रच्छरक्षो नह” । देवम् दीव्यतेः पचाद्यच् । ऋतौ यजतीति विग्रहे “ऋत्विग् दृष्टि”ति क्लृप्तो निपातितः । कृदुत्तरपदप्रकृतिस्वरः ऋतुशब्दस्यावांतरपदसंज्ञासत्त्वेऽपि “गोभिर्मदाय” “गोभ्यो गातु” इत्यादौ विद्यादक्षराणां संप्रदाय-
सिद्धः । “...थापदत्वाभावेऽपि ईषिवांसं तस्थिवांसं आपप्रिवान्” इत्यादौ विद्यादक्षराणां संप्रदाय-
पदत्वेऽवग्रहस्तद्विरेहे नैत्युभयमप्यौत्सर्गिकमिति बोध्यम् ॥ होतारम् । जुहोतिस्तृत् “नित्यदिर्नित्य”-
मित्याद्युदात्तः । रत्नधातमम् । रत्नशब्दो “नविषयस्यानिसंतस्य” इत्याद्युदात्तः । रत्नशब्दस्तु कृदु-
त्तरपदप्रकृतिस्वरेण समासस्वरेण वांतोदात्तः । तमप् तु पिप्वादनुदात्तः । स्वरितप्रचयौ प्रागवत् ॥

ऐन्द्रवृत्तात् आद्याया ऋचोऽर्थऽस्तु प्रपंचितः ।

औत्सर्गिकमितो ज्ञेयं विशेषस्तु प्रवक्ष्यते ॥ १ ॥

अग्निः पूर्वभिर्ऋषिभिरीड्यो नूतनैरुत ॥

स देवा एह वक्षति ॥ २ ॥

अग्निः । पूर्वभिः । ऋषिभिः । ईड्यः । नूतनैः । उत ॥

स । देवान् । आ । इह । वक्षति ॥ २ ॥

अग्निरिति । पूर्वभिः ऋषिभिः ऋषयः जानन्तीत्यृषयस्त्रैः । नूतनैरुत । इदानींतनैरिति

अग्निः ईड्यः स्तुत्यः स्तः अग्निः इह यज्ञे देवान् इविर्भुजः आवक्षति आवहत् ॥ पूर्वभिः “स्वांग-
शिदामदंतानाम्” इत्याद्युदात्तः । “बहुलं छंदसी”ति भिस ऐसादेशाभावः । ऋषिभिः ऋषेर्गल्यर्थादौणा-
दिक इन् “इगुपधात्किदि”ति इन् कित्वातिदेशाद्बहुपधगुणो न । ईड्यः ण्यप्रत्ययांतत्वात् । “तिस्वरित”-
मिति स्वरिते शेषनिघाते च प्राप्ते । “ईडवंदवृशंसदुहां ण्यत्” इत्याद्युदात्तत्वम् । नूतनैः । “नवस्य जप-
तनप्त्वाश्च प्रत्ययाः” इति वार्तिकेन नू आदेशः तनप् प्रत्ययश्च । उतशब्दः स्वरादिस्वादव्ययमंतोदात्तः
किद स्वरात् । एवं स इत्यपि । देवानिति नकारस्य संहितायां “दीर्घाददी”ति रुत्वम् । “अत्रानुनासिक” इति
आकारोऽनुनासिकः “भोभगोभघो-” इति रोर्घः “लोपः शाकल्यस्ये”ति तद्धोपः तस्यासिद्धत्वाच्च संधिः ।
“व्यवहिताश्चे”ति सूत्रेणाडो व्यवहितप्रयोगः । इह । “इदमो हः” । वक्षति । “लिङ्गर्थे लेट्” । “सिप्
बहुलं लेटी”ति सिप् । “लेटोऽडाटावि”त्यट् ॥ २ ॥

अग्निना रयिभश्चवत्पोषमेव दिवेदिवे ॥

यशसं वीरवत्तमम् ॥ ३ ॥

अग्निना । रयिम् । अश्नवत् । पोषम् । एव । दिवेऽदिवे ॥

यशसम् । वीरवत्तमम् ॥ ३ ॥

अग्निनेति । अग्निना । रयिं धनम् । अश्नवत् । प्राप्नोति । कीदृशम् । दिवेदिवे । पोषमेव ।
प्रतिदिनं पुष्यमाणम् । किं च । यशसं यशोयुक्तम् । वीरवत्तमम् । अतिशयेन पुत्रभृत्यादिवीरपुरुषो-
पेतम् । रयिशब्दो धननामसु पठितः । अश्नवत् । अश्नोतेर्लेट् । पदव्यत्ययेन तिप् । “इतश्च लोपः पर-
स्मैपदेष्वि”ति इकारलोपः । पोषम् घञंतत्वादाद्युदात्तः । एव । “एवादीनामंत” इत्यंतोदात्तत्वम् ।
वकारांतादिवृशब्दात् सप्तम्याः “सुपां सुलुगि”ति शेषावे “सावेकाच” इति “उच्चिदंपदादि”ति वा
उदात्तत्वम् । “नित्यवीप्सयो”रिति द्वित्वम् । उत्तरभागस्य “अनुदात्तं चे”त्यनुदात्तत्वम् । यशसं । यशः-
शब्दस्य तद्वत्परता मंत्रांतरेऽपि दृष्टा । “अग्ने त्वं यशा असी”ति । वीरशब्दात्परस्य मनुषो “हस्वनुद्भ्यां
मनुप्” इति उदात्तत्वं प्राप्तं “न गोश्चक्षि”ति निषिध्यते ॥ ३ ॥

अग्ने यं यज्ञमध्वरं विश्वतः परिभूरसि ॥

स इहेवेषु गच्छति ॥ ४ ॥

अग्ने । यम् । यज्ञम् । अध्वरम् । विश्वतः । परिभूरः । असि ॥

सः । इत् । देवेषु । गच्छति ॥ ४ ॥

अग्ने यमिति । हे अग्ने । अध्वरं राक्षसादिकर्तृकहिंसारहितं यज्ञं विश्वतः सर्वासु दिक्षु परिभूरः
परितः प्राप्तवान् असि । स इत् स एव यज्ञो देवेषु गच्छति । अग्ने “आमंत्रितस्ये”ति षाष्ठ आद्यु-
दात्तः । अध्वरं न विद्यते ध्वरो यस्येति बहुव्रीहौ “नञ्सुभ्यामि”त्यंतोदात्तत्वम् । तसिङ् “लिटी”ति
प्रत्ययापूर्वं उदात्तः । परिभूरः अव्ययपूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरं प्राप्ते तदपवादः कृदुत्तरपदप्रकृतिस्वरः । असि ।
यंछब्दयोगाच्च निघातः ॥ ४ ॥

अग्निर्होता कविऋतुः सत्यश्चित्रश्रवस्तमः ॥

देवो देवेभिरा गमत् ॥ ५ ॥

अग्निः । होता । कविऋतुः । सत्यः । चित्रश्रवःस्तमः ॥

देवः । देवेभिः । आ । गमत् ॥ ५ ॥

अग्निर्होतेति । होता । कविऋतुः कविषु मेधाविषु ऋतुः कर्म यस्य । सत्यु साधुः सत्यः ।
चित्रश्रवस्तमः अतिशयेन विचित्रकीर्तियुक्तः । अग्निर्देवः । अग्न्यैर्देवैः सह आगमत् आगच्छतु ।
कविऋतुः बहुव्रीहिसत्त्वापूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरः “कृजः कर्तु”रिति कतुप्रत्ययः । सत्यः “सत्यादसपथे” इति

सूत्रे अनुदात्तो निपात्य इति ह्रस्वत्तः । गमत् । “ह्रदसि लुङ् लुङ् इति” इति निपात् । “अङ्कुलं ह्रस्वमाक्योरो”पीति अङ्गभावः ॥ ५ ॥

समाप्तः प्रथमो वर्गः ॥

यद्गङ्गा दाशुषे त्वमग्ने भद्रं करिष्यसि ॥

तवेत्तत्सत्यमङ्गिरः ॥ १ ॥

यत् । अङ्ग । दाशुषे । त्वम् । अग्ने । भद्रम् । करिष्यसि ॥

तवे । इत् । तत् । सत्यम् । अङ्गिरः ॥ १ ॥

यदिति । अंग हे अग्ने । त्वं दाशुषे । हविर्दत्तवते । यद्भद्रं करिष्यसि तत् तव इत् तवैव । अङ्गिरः एतन्नामकमहर्षे । तथा च मंत्रः । “त्वमग्ने प्रथमो अङ्गिरा ऋषि”रिति । इदं सत्यं उत्तरकः व-
नुष्ठानेनाग्नेरेव सुखपर्यवसानात् ॥ अंगशब्दस्य निपातत्वेऽपि “एवादीनामंत” इत्यंतोदात्तत्वम् ।
दाशुषे । दाशु दाने । “दाश्वान् साह्यान्मीढांश्चे”ति साधुः । अग्ने इत्यस्याष्टमिकनिघातो न भवति ।
अपादादाविति पर्युदस्तत्वात् । भद्रं भदि कस्याणे रक्षप्रत्यये साधुः । तव । “युष्मदस्मदोर्कसी”त्या-
द्युदात्तत्वम् ॥ १ ॥

उप त्वाम्ने दिवेदिवे दोषावस्तर्धिया वयम् ॥

नमो भरन्तु एमसि ॥ २ ॥

उप । त्वा । अग्ने । दिवेऽदिवे । दोषाऽवस्तः । धिया । वयम् ॥

नमः । भरन्तः । आ । इमसि ॥ २ ॥

उष त्वेति । हे अग्ने वयं दिवेदिवे । प्रतिदिनं दोषावस्तः रात्रावहनि च । धिया वृष्या नमो
नमस्कारं भरन्तः कुर्वतः त्वा इति त्वाम् । उष समीपे । एमसि एमः आगच्छामः । दोषावस्तो रात्रि-
वाची । वस्तरित्यहर्वाची । द्वंद्वे कृते “कार्त्तिकौजपादयश्चे”त्याद्युदात्तः । धिया “सावेकाचस्तृतीयाद्विर्वि-
भक्ति”रिति उदात्तः । भरन्तः आपः पिप्वात् शतुर्लसार्धधातुकरवाचानुदात्तत्वे सति धातुस्वरः शिष्यते ।
इमसि “इदंतो मसी”ति साधुः ॥ २ ॥

राजन्तमध्वराणां गोपामतस्य दीदिविम् ॥

वर्धमानं स्वे दमे ॥ ३ ॥

राजन्तम् । अध्वराणाम् । गोपाम् । ऋतस्य । दीदिविम् ॥

वर्धमानम् । स्वे । दमे ॥ ३ ॥

राजन्तमिति । त्वाशुषेऽह्न्युक्तम् । कीदृशं त्वां । राजन्तं दीप्यमानं अध्वराणां गोपाम् रक्षकम् ।
ऋतस्य अमरद्वयभाविनः कर्मफलस्य दीदिविः शोतकम् । स्वे दमे स्वीयगृहे वर्धमानम् । किन्
इत्यनुवर्तमाने “दिबो द्वे दीर्घश्चाभ्यासस्ये”ति दीर्घ्यतेः औणादिकः किन् प्रत्ययः । बलि कोपः । दमकन्दो
वृषादित्वादाद्युदात्तः ॥ ३ ॥

स नः पितेर्व सूनवेऽग्ने सूपायनो भव ॥

सर्चस्वा नः स्वस्तये ॥ ४ ॥

सः । नः । पिताऽह्वे । सूनवे । अग्ने । सुऽउपायनः । भव ॥

सर्चस्व । नः । स्वस्तये ॥ ४ ॥

स.न इति । हे अग्ने स त्वं नः अस्माभ्यं सूनवे पुत्रार्थं पितेर्व सूपायनः शोभनमाप्तिपुत्रो
भवः । कि. च ऋः अस्माकं स्वस्तये श्रेमार्थं सर्चस्व समवेतो भव । पितेर्व “चावबोह्वता” इती-

वायोऽनुवाचः “इदं स ह स मासः पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वं च” । तेन पितृवेति मध्येदात्तम् । सचस्वेत्यत्र संहितायां “अभ्येषामपि इत्यतः” इति दीर्घः ॥ ४ ॥

द्वितीयो वर्गः ॥

वायुवा याहि दर्शतेमे सोमा अरंकृताः ॥

तेषां पाहि शुधी हवम् ॥ १ ॥

वायो इति । आ । याहि । दर्शत । इमे । सोमाः । अरंकृताः ॥

तेषाम् । पाहि । शुधि । हवम् ॥ १ ॥

वायवायाहीति नवर्ष सूक्तम् । तत्राद्यस्तृचो वायुदेवताकः । द्वितीय इन्द्रवायुदेवताकः । तृतीयो मित्रावरुणदेवताकः । ऋषिच्छंदसी प्राग्वत् । तथा चानुक्रांतं “वायो वायव्यैद्रवायवमैत्रावरुणास्तृचा” इति । अत्राग्निं नवतो नवेत्यनुवर्तते ॥ वायविति । दर्शत दर्शनीय । हे वायो आयाहि । त्वदर्थम् इमे सोमा अरंकृताः अलंकृताः । अभिषवादिभिः संस्कृताः । तेषां पाहि तान् पिब । हवं आह्वानं शुधि शृणु । दर्शत “भृमृदशीत्या”दिनाऽतच् । सोमाः “अतिस्तुस्त्रि”त्यादिना मन् । अरंकृताः “वाल-मूललघ्वलमंगुलीनां वा लो रमापद्यते” इत्याद्यमिकवातिकेन लस्य रेफादेशः तेषां कर्मणः शेषत्वविवक्षायां षष्ठी । पाहि “बहुलं छंदसी”ति शपो लुक् तेन पिबादेशो न । शुधि “श्रुशृण्वि”त्यादिना हेर्धिः । तिङन्तात्परत्वाभिप्रातो न । “अभ्येषामपी”ति संहितायां दीर्घः । हवं “बहुलं छंदसी”ति द्वेजः संप्रसारणे “ऋदो”रित्यप् ॥ १ ॥

वाय उक्थेभिर्जरते त्वामच्छा जरितारः ॥

सुतसोमा अहर्विदः ॥ २ ॥

वायो इति । उक्थेभिः । जरन्ते । त्वाम् । अच्छ । जरितारः ॥

सुतऽसोमाः । अहुःऽविदः ॥ २ ॥

वायो जरितारः सोतारः त्वामच्छ अभिलक्ष्य उक्थेभिः आज्यप्रउगादिशस्त्रैर्जरते स्तुवंति । कीदृशाः । सुतसोमाः सुतः सोमो वैश्वे । किंच अहर्विदः अहःशब्द एकेनाह्ना निष्पाद्ये ज्योतिष्टोमादिकृतौ प्रसिद्धः तेन ऋत्वभिज्ञा इत्यर्थः । अर्चति गायत्रीत्यादिषु जरते इति पठितं स्तुतेरपि अर्चनविशेषत्वाज्जरत्यर्थता ॥ २ ॥

वायो त प्रपृच्छती धेना जिगाति दाशुषे ॥

रूची सोमपीतये ॥ ३ ॥

वायो इति । तवे । प्रपृच्छती । धेना । जिगाति । दाशुषे ॥

रूची । सोमऽपीतये ॥ ३ ॥

वायो तवेति । हे वायो तव धेना वाक् । सोमपीतये सोमपानार्थं दाशुषे यजमानाय जिगाति गच्छति । त्वया दत्तं सोमं पास्यामीति कृपया ब्रूत इत्यर्थः ॥ कीदृशी धेना । प्रपृच्छती प्रकर्षेण पृच्छती फलसंपर्कं कुर्वती । उरून् विचित्रान् मार्गानंचति गच्छतीति उरूची । प्रपृच्छती “शतुरनुम” इति ऋगुदासः । श्लोकोच्चारित्यादिवाक्कानामसु धेनेति पठितं वर्तते । अयत् इत्यादि गतिकर्मसु जिगातीति पठितं । उरूची गौरादित्वाङ्गीष् प्रत्ययस्वरः । सोमपीतये व्यत्ययेन पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरः ॥ ३ ॥

इन्द्रवायू इमे सुता उप प्रयोभिरा गतम् ॥

इन्द्रवो वामुशन्ति हि ॥ ४ ॥

इन्द्रवायू इति । इमे । सुताः । उप । प्रयोऽभिः । आ । गतम् ॥

इन्द्रवः । वाम् । उशन्ति । हि ॥ ४ ॥

इन्द्रवायू इति । हे इन्द्रवायू । इमे सोमाः सुता अभिषुताः तस्माद्युवां प्रयोभिरक्षैः सह उपागतं आगच्छतं हि यस्मादिद्वयः सोमाः वां युवां उशंति कामयंते । प्रीणयंति भोक्तृमिति प्रयासि । प्रीडोऽतर्भाषितपयार्थादसुन् । गतं “बहुलं छंदसी”ति शपो लुक् । उंदी ह्रदने “उंदेरिच्चादे”रित्युन् आद्यक्षरस्येकारादेशश्च । उशंति “हि चे”ति निघातप्रतिषेधः ॥ ४ ॥

वायुविन्द्रश्च चेतथः सुतानां वाजिनीवसू ॥

तावा यातमुप द्रवत् ॥ ५ ॥

वायो इति । इन्द्रः । च । चेतथः । सुतानाम् । वाजिनीवसू इति वाजिनीवसू ॥

तौ । आ । यातम् । उप । द्रवत् ॥ ५ ॥

वायुविन्द्र इति । हे वायो त्वं इन्द्रश्च सुतानां सोमानां चेतथः जानीथः । कीदृशौ । वाजोऽहं त्वस्यामस्मीति वाजिनी हविःसंततिः तस्यां वसतः इति वाजिनीवसू । तौ युवां द्रवत् क्षिप्रं उपायातम् । क्षिप्रनामसु द्रवदिति पाठात् “ऋज्रे”त्यादिना इन्द्रशब्दो रन्प्रत्ययातो निपातितः ॥ ५ ॥

तृतीयो वर्गः ॥

वायुविन्द्रश्च सुन्वत आ यातमुप निष्कृतम् ॥

मक्षिवत्था धिया नरा ॥ १ ॥

वायो इति । इन्द्रः । च । सुन्वतः । आ । यातम् । उप । निःस्कृतम् ॥

मक्षु । इत्था । धिया । नरा ॥ १ ॥

वायविति । हे वायो त्वमिन्द्रश्च सुन्वतः सोमाभिषवं कुर्वतः निष्कृतं संस्कर्तारं सोमं धिया अनुग्रहबुद्ध्या मक्षु शीघ्रं उपायातं आगच्छतं । नरा हे नरौ पौरुषोपेतौ इत्था अवश्यम् । सुन्वतः “शतुरनुमोनयजादी”ति विभक्तैरुदात्तत्वम् । निष्कृतम् निरित्येष समित्येतस्य स्थाने इति यास्कः आदिकर्मणि क्तः कर्तरि चेति कर्तरि क्तः संस्कर्तुं प्रवृत्तमित्यर्थात् कुगतीति समासेऽव्ययपूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरे प्राप्ते “थायघञ्क्ताजवित्रकाणामि”त्यंतोदात्तः । “गतिरनंतर” इति तु नेह भवति । कर्मणि क्ताते उत्तरपद एव तत्प्रवृत्तेः । मक्षिवत्येति संहितायां “उदात्तस्वरितयोर्णः स्वरितोऽनुदात्तस्ये”ति इकारः स्वरितः तस्य पूर्वभाग उदात्ततरः शेषोऽनुदात्तः । तथा च प्रातिशाख्यः । “एकाक्षरसमादेशे पूर्वयोः स्वरितः स्वरः । तस्योदात्ततरोदात्ताद्धमात्रार्धमेव वा ॥ अनुदात्तः परःशेष” इति । न चैवमग्निमीळे इत्यत्रापि ईकारशेषस्यानुदात्तात्पत्तिः “स उदात्तश्रुतिर्न चेत् । उदात्तं बोध्यते किंचित्स्वरितं वाक्षरं पर”मित्युत्तरवाक्ये नोदात्तस्वरितपरत्याभावे स्वरितशेषस्योदात्तश्रुत्यभिधानात् । धिया “सावेकाच” इति विभक्तिरुदात्ता ॥ १ ॥

मित्रं हुवे पूतदक्षं वरुणं च रिशादसम् ॥

धियं घृताचीं साधंता ॥ २ ॥

मित्रम् । हुवे । पूतदक्षम् । वरुणम् । च । रिशादसम् ॥

धियम् । घृताचीम् । साधंता ॥ २ ॥

मित्रमिति । पूतदक्षं पवित्रबलं मित्रं रिशादसम् रिशानां हिंसकानां अदसम् अक्षारम् । वरुणं च हुवे आह्वयामि । कीदृशौ । घृताचीं घृतमुदकमंचति प्रापयति इति घृताची तां धियम् क्रियां साधंता साधयंतौ । वृष्टिप्रदाविति यावत् । हुवे । ह्वयते “बहुलं छंदसी”ति शपो लुक् । संप्रसारणमित्यनुवृत्तौ बहुलं छंदसीति संप्रसारणे उवङ् । वरुणम् “कृवृदारिम्य उवङ्” । रिशंति हिंसंतीति रिशाः । “इगुग्गशाग्रीकिरः कः” । अक्षरसुन् कृदुत्तरप्रकृतिस्वरत्वम् । भीशब्दः कर्मनामसु पठितः । घृताचीम् । कृदुत्तरपदप्रकृतिस्वरेणाचक्षरकार उदात्तः तस्य लोपे सति “अनुदात्तस्य च यत्रोदात्तलोपः” इति ङीप् उदात्तत्वे प्राप्ते “वावि”ति पूर्वपदांतोदात्तत्वम् । साधंता । अंतर्भाषितपयार्थाद्धटः शत्रादेशे इयनं (भुं) बाधित्वा व्यत्ययेन शप् । अदुपदेशापरत्वात् शतुर्निघातः ॥ २ ॥

ऋतेन मित्रावरुणावृतावृधावृतस्पृशा ॥

ऋतुं बृहन्तमाशाथे ॥ ३ ॥

ऋतेन । मित्रावरुणौ । ऋतुऽवृधौ । ऋतुऽस्पृशा ॥

ऋतुम् । बृहन्तम् । आशाथे इति ॥ ३ ॥

ऋतेनेति । हे मित्रावरुणौ युवां ऋतेन ऋतेन अवश्यं भाविना फलेन फलं दातुमिति यावत् । बृहन्तं ऋतुं आशाथे भानशाथे व्यासवंतौ । कीदृशौ । ऋतावृधौ । ऋतस्य उदकादेः ऋतमित्युदक-
नाम सत्यं वा यशो वेति यास्कोक्तेः । वृधौ वर्धयितारौ । ऋतस्पृशा । ऋतं सत्यं स्पृशन्तौ । ऋतशब्दो
घृतादिस्वादंतोदात्तः । ऋतावृधौ “अन्येषामपी”ति दीर्घः । इहामंत्रितत्रिकस्यापि आष्टमिको निघातः
ऋतेनेत्यस्य परांगवद्भावस्तु न असामर्थ्यात् । “समर्थः पदविधि”रिति परिभाषया हि सत्येव परस्परा-
न्वये परांगवद्भावः । यथा “यसे दिवो दुहितरि”त्यादौ । ननु ऋतावृधावित्यस्य पादादिस्वाभिघातो न
स्यात् । यथा “इमं मे गंगे” इति मंत्रे शुतुद्रिपदस्येति चेन्न । मित्रावरुणावित्यस्य परांगवद्भावे सति
विशिष्टस्यामंत्रिततया पादादिस्वाभावात् शुतुद्रिपदात्प्राचीनस्य तु असामर्थ्येन परांगवद्भावो मेति वैष-
म्यम् । आशाथे । नुडभावः छांदसः ॥ ३ ॥

कवी नो मित्रावरुणा तुविजाता उरुक्षया ॥

दक्षं दधाते अपसम् ॥ ४ ॥

कवी इति । नः । मित्रावरुणा । तुविऽजातौ । उरुऽक्षया ॥

दक्षम् । दधातेऽइति । अपसम् ॥ ४ ॥

कवी इति । कवी मेधाविनौ तुविजातौ बहूनामुपकाराय जातौ । उरुक्षया बहुनिवासी ।
मित्रावरुणौ नः अस्माकं दक्षं बलं अपसं कर्म च दधाते पोषयतः । तुवि अपसं(?)इत्याद्या उक्ताथ-
कतया निघंटो प्रसिद्धाः ॥ मित्रावरुणा “देवताद्वंद्वे चे”ति पदद्वये प्रकृतिस्वरः । उरुक्षया । “परादिश्
छंदसि बहुल”मित्युत्तरपदाद्युदात्तत्वम् । दक्षम् । दक्षतेरुत्साहकर्मणो घञ् । अपसम् । आप्यते फलेनेत्यपः
कर्म । “आपः कर्माख्यायां ह्रस्वो नुद च वे”त्यसुम् । प्रत्ययस्याद्युदात्तत्वं बाहुलकात् ॥ ४ ॥

चतुर्थो वर्गः ॥

अश्विना यज्वरीरिषो द्रवत्पाणी शुभस्पती ॥

पुरुभुजा चनस्यतम् ॥ १ ॥

अश्विना । यज्वरीः । इषः । द्रवत्पाणी इति द्रवत्पाणी । शुभः । पती इति ॥

पुरुऽभुजा । चनस्यतम् ॥ १ ॥

अश्विनेत्यादि द्वादशार्चं सूक्तम् तत्राद्यस्तृच आश्विनः द्वितीय ऐंद्रः तृतीयो वैश्वदेवः चतुर्थः
सारस्वतः । वायवायाहीत्यादिषु सप्तसु तृचेषु उक्ताः सप्त प्रजापत्या देवताः । तथा चानुक्रांतम् ।
“अश्विना द्वादशाश्विनैर्द्रवैश्वदेवसारस्वतास्तृचाः ससेताः प्रउगदेवताः” इति । अश्विनेति । द्रवत्पाणी
द्रवंतौ हविर्ग्रहणार्थं आवंतौ पाणी ययोः । शुभस्पती शुभः शोभनस्य कर्मणः । शुभ दीप्तौ क्तिप् षष्ठ्येक-
प्रचनम् । “षष्ठ्याः पतिपुत्रे”ति विसर्जनीयस्य सत्वम् । पती पालकौ । पुरुभुजा महाभुजौ । हे अश्विना
अश्विनौ । यज्वरीः यागनिष्पादिकाः । करणस्य कर्तृत्वविवक्षायां “सुयजोर्हुनिप्” “वनो र चे”ति ङीष् ।
इषः अश्वानि चनस्यतं इच्छतम् ॥ शुभ इत्यस्य परांगवद्भावे सत्यामंत्रिताद्युदात्तत्वं न स्वाष्टमिको
निघातः । “आमंत्रितं पूर्वमविद्यमानवदि”त्यनेन द्रवत्पाणी इत्यस्यासत्कल्पत्वेन पादादिस्वात् । चनस्य-
तम् । “चायेरक्ते ह्रस्वश्चे”ति असुन् चाङ्गुलं लोपो व्योरिति यलोपः चनस्यशब्दात् “सुप आऽभनः क्यच्” ।
पूर्वमविद्यमानवद्भावासिद्धंतस्य च निघातः ॥ १ ॥

अश्विना पुरुदंससा नरा शवीरया धिया ॥

धिण्या वनतं गिरः ॥ २ ॥

अश्विना । पुरुदंससा । नरा । शवीरया । धिया ॥

धिण्या । वनतम् । गिरः ॥ २ ॥

अश्विनेति । पुरुदंससा बहुकर्माणौ दंससशब्दस्य कर्मनामसु पाठात् । नरा पौरुषोपेतौ । धिण्या धार्योपेतौ । हे अश्विना अश्विनौ । शवीरया अप्रतिबद्धप्रसरणा । शु गतौ औणादिक ईरन् । धिया । गिरः स्तुतीः । वनतं स्वीकुरुतम् ॥ अश्विनेत्यस्य “नामंत्रिते समावाधिकरणे” इति अविद्यमान(ब)त्वनिषेधः प्राप्तः बाहुलकाच्च भवति ॥ २ ॥

दक्षा युवाकवः सुता नासत्या वृक्तबर्हिषः ॥

आ यातं रुद्रवर्तनी ॥ ३ ॥

दक्षा । युवाकवः । सुताः । नासत्या । वृक्तबर्हिषः ॥

आ । यातम् । रुद्रवर्तनी इति रुद्रवर्तनी ॥ ३ ॥

दक्षेति । दक्षा दस्यत इति दक्षा “स्फायितं च”ति रक् शङ्खणां रोगाणां च नाशकौ । नासत्या असत्यरहितौ । “नभ्राणनपादि”त्यादिना नञो नलोपाभावः । रुद्रवर्तनी रुद्रस्यैव वर्ततेतिः मार्गो ययोक्तौ । हे अश्विनौ युवंति मिश्रीभवन्ति वसतीवरीभिरिति युवाकवः बाहुलकाद्यैतेः काकुप्रत्ययः । वृक्तबर्हिषः वृक्तं मूलैर्वर्जितं बर्हिषास्त्रीर्णं येषां ते सुताः तदर्थमायातम् ॥ ३ ॥

इन्द्रा याहि चित्रभानो सुता इमे त्वायवः ॥

अण्वीभिस्तना पूतासः ॥ ४ ॥

इन्द्र । आ । याहि । चित्रभानो इति चित्रभानो । सुताः । इमे । त्वायवः ॥

अण्वीभिः । तना । पूतासः ॥ ४ ॥

इन्द्रेति । चित्रभानो चित्रदीप्ते । हे इन्द्र आयाहि । यतः अण्वीभिः अंगुलिभिः सुताः तना नित्यं पूतासः शुद्धा इमे सोमाः त्वायवः त्वां कामयमानाः संति । त्वायवः त्वामिच्छंतीत्यर्थे “सुप आत्मनः क्यच्” “क्याच् छंदसी”ति उपप्रत्ययः “प्रत्ययोत्तरपदयोश्च”ति मपर्यंतस्य त्वादेशः अविभक्तावपि व्यत्ययेनात्वम् । अण्वीभिः अणुशब्दात् व्यत्ययेन ङीन् अयमंगुलिनामसु पठितः ॥ ४ ॥

इन्द्रा याहि ध्रियेषितो विप्रजूतः सुतावतः ॥

उप ब्रह्माणि वाचतः ॥ ५ ॥

इन्द्र । आ । याहि । ध्रिया । इषितः । विप्रजूतः । सुतवतः ॥

उप । ब्रह्माणि । वाचतः ॥ ५ ॥

इन्द्रेति । इन्द्र ध्रिया अश्विना इषितः प्रेरितः विप्रजूतः ऋत्विगिर्मर्ष्यातः जू (जु?) गतौ सौत्रः “अयुकः किञ्ची”ति नेद “तृतीया कर्मणो”ति पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरः एवंभूतस्य सुतावतः अमिषुत-सोमयुकस्य वाचतः ऋत्विजः ऋत्विङ्नामसु पाठात् । ब्रह्माणि सौत्राणि उपैतुमायाहि ॥ ५ ॥

इन्द्रा याहि तूतुजान् उप ब्रह्माणि हरिवः ॥

सुते दधिष्व नृधनः ॥ ६ ॥

इन्द्र । आ । याहि । तूतुजानः । उप । ब्रह्माणि । हरिः ॥

सुते । दधिष्व । नृः । धनः ॥ ६ ॥

इन्द्रेति । हरी इन्द्रस्याश्वौ । “हरी इन्द्रस्य रोहितोमे”रिति पाठात् । हे हरिवः अश्विनीवचम् ।

“छंदसीरः” इति मनुषो मस्य वस्वम् “मनुबसोरुसंबुद्धौ छंदसी”ति रुवम् । इंद्र । तूतुजानः स्वर-
माणः शत्रू हिंसन्वा । तुज हिंसायां “तुजादीनां दीर्घोभ्यासस्ये”ति दीर्घः । ब्रह्माणि (सोत्राणि)
उपैतुं स्वीकर्तुं उप समीपं आयाहि । सोमे सुते सति नः चनोऽन्नं हविः दधिष्व स्वीकुरु । “छंदस्यु-
भयये”त्यार्धभानुकत्वादिद् ॥ ६ ॥

पंचमो वर्गः ॥

ॐ

ओमासश्चर्षणीधृतो विश्वे देवास आ गंत ॥

दाश्वान्सो दाशुषः सुतम् ॥ १ ॥

ओमासः । चर्षणिऽधृतः । विश्वे । देवासः । आ । गतम् ॥

दाश्वान्सः । दाशुषः । सुतम् ॥ १ ॥

ओमास इति । अवन्तीति ओमासः रक्षकाः मन्त्रित्यनुवृत्तौ “अविसिविसिञ्चुविभ्यः किदि”ति मन् ।
“ज्वरत्वरै”त्यूद् । मनः किरत्वेपि बाहुलकाद्गुणः । चर्षणयो मनुष्याः तान् धरन्ति पोषयन्तीति चर्षणी-
धृतः ॥ दाश्वान्सः दातारः ॥ हे विश्वे देवासः दाशुषः यजमानस्य सुतं सोमं प्रति आगत
आगच्छत ॥ १ ॥

विश्वे देवासो अमुरः सुतमा गन्तु तूर्णयः ॥

उक्षा इव स्वसराणि ॥ २ ॥

विश्वे । देवासः । अप्सुरः । सुतम् । आ । गन्तु । तूर्णयः ॥

उक्षाऽइव । स्वसराणि ॥ २ ॥

विश्वे इति । अमुरः तुरस्वरणे श्रुतिकरणः तुतुङ्गति स्वरयन्तीत्यर्थे क्तिप् । वृष्टिप्रदाः । स्वरन्ते इति
तूर्णयः निरित्यनुवृत्तौ “वहिश्चिश्चुयुङ्गुळाहात्वरिभ्यो निच्” । विश्वे देवासः सुतमागंत आगच्छन्तु
व्यत्ययेन मध्यमपुरुषबहुवचनम् “तपूतनपूतनथनाश्चै”ति तदादेशे क्तिस्वाभावादनुनासिकलोपो न ।
उक्षाः सूर्यरश्मयः । स्वसराणि जहानि इव यथा शीघ्रमायांति तद्वत् ॥ २ ॥

विश्वे देवासो अस्त्रिध एहिमायासो अद्भुहः ॥

मेधं जुषन्तु वह्नयः ॥ ३ ॥

विश्वे । देवासः । अस्त्रिधः । एहिऽमायासः । अद्भुहः ॥

मेधम् । जुषन्तु । वह्नयः ॥ ३ ॥

विश्वे इति । अस्त्रिधः क्षयरहिताः त्रिधेः क्षयार्थाद्भावे क्तिप् नञा बहुव्रीहिः “नञ्सुभ्यामि”-
त्यंतोदात्तत्वम् । एहिमायासः आ समन्तादीहते इत्येहिः “इन्” इति इन् । सर्वतो व्याप्ता माया वेदां
ते । अद्भुहः प्रोद्धरहिताः वह्नयः वोढारः “वहिष्ठी”त्यादिना निर्निच् । विश्वे देवासः मेध्यते देवैः
संगम्यते इति मेधं हविः । मेध संगमने च कर्मणि घञ् । जुषन्तु सेवन्ताम् ॥ ३ ॥

पावका नः सरस्वती वाजैभिर्वाजिनीवती ॥

युक्तां बहु धियावसुः ॥ ४ ॥

पावका । नः । सरस्वती । वाजैभिः । वाजिनीऽवती ॥

युक्ताम् । बहु । धियावसुः ॥ ४ ॥

पावकेति । पुनातीति पावका शोधयित्री । “प्रत्ययस्थात्कादि”तीत्याभावात् अंतोदात्तत्वं

अदसम् । नः नीचती अजवती वा क्रिया तद्वती । धिया कर्मणा वसु यस्याः सकाशात् सा धिया-
वसुः सुतीयाया अजुह्व छांदसः । सरस्वती वाजेभिरग्रेः वृषादस्वादा दात्ताः । नः अर्णो बहु
कर्मणाम् ॥ ३ ॥

चोदयित्री सूनृतानां चेतन्ती सुमतीनाम् ॥

यज्ञं दधे सरस्वती ॥ ५ ॥

चोदयित्री । सूनृतानाम् । चेतन्ती । सुमतीनाम् ॥

यज्ञम् । दधे । सरस्वती ॥ ५ ॥

चोदयित्रीति । सूनृतानां प्रियसत्यवाक्यानां चोदयित्री प्रेरयित्री । “उदात्तयणो ह्रस्वपूर्वा-
दि”ति ऋगुदात्तः । सुमतीनां अनुष्ठापणाम् । “नामन्यतरस्या”मिति विभक्त्युदात्तत्वम् । चेतन्ती
अनुष्ठेयं ज्ञापयन्ती सरस्वती यज्ञं दधे धारितवती ॥ ५ ॥

महो अर्णः सरस्वती प्र चेतयति केतुना ॥

धियो विश्वा वि राजति ॥ ६ ॥

महः । अर्णः । सरस्वती । प्र । चेतयति । केतुना ॥

धियः । विश्वाः । वि । राजति ॥ ६ ॥

मह इति । सरस्वती केतुना कर्मणा महो अर्णः महदुदकम् । प्रचेतयति ज्ञापयति । नदी-
वृष्टिप्रदस्वादा । विश्वाः धियः सर्वाणि ज्ञानानि । विराजति प्रकाशयति । महो
अर्णः महच्छब्दतकारस्य व्यत्ययेन सः ॥ ६ ॥

वष्टो वर्गः ॥

सुरूपकृलमुतये सुदुर्धामिव गोदुर्धे ॥

जुहुमसि अविद्यवि ॥ १ ॥

सुरूपकृलुम् । उतये । सुदुर्धाम् इव । गोदुर्धे ॥

जुहुमसि । अविद्यवि ॥ १ ॥

सुरूपेत्यादि दशर्ष सूक्तम् । “सुरूपकृलुं दशे”त्यनुक्रांतत्वात् । इन्द्रो देवता इन्द्रं पृच्छेत्यादि-
किंवात् । सुरूपकृलुं सुरूपस्य शोभनरूपोपेतस्य कर्मणः कृलुं कर्त्तारम् । “कृहनिम्यां क्रुः” तकारः
छांदसः । इन्द्रं उतये रक्षार्थं उदात्त इत्यनुवृत्तौ “ऊतियूतिजूतिसातिहेतिकीर्तयन्ने”ति ऋगुदात्तो
निष्पत्तिः । अविद्यवि । प्रतिदिनम् । जुहुमसि आह्वयामः । गोदुर्धे गोदोषनायम् सुदुर्धाम् गोदोषी
मर्षः इव ॥ १ ॥

उप नुः सवना गहि सोमस्य सोमपाः पिब ॥

गोदा इद्रेवतो मर्दः ॥ २ ॥

उप । नुः । सवना । आ । गहि । सोमस्य । सोमपाः । पिब ॥

गोऽदाः । इद्रेवतो । मर्दः ॥ २ ॥

उपेति । हे सोमपाः इन्द्र नः सवना सवनानि उप आगहि उपगच्छ । सोमस्य सोमं
पिब । रविर्चनम् सवन्नम् रेवान् । “रवेर्मेतो बहुलं छांदसी”ति संभसारणम् । रेवतस्य । मर्दो इर्षः
मर्दने सक्तो इव ॥ गोदा इद्रेवतो मर्दः इव ॥ २ ॥

धातुकत्वात् “लिङः सकोपोर्मलस्ये”ति सकोपः । किंच इन्द्रस्य शर्मणि शुक्ले स्यामेत् भवेमेव तमेव तोषवेमेत्यर्थः ॥ १ ॥

एमाशुमाशवे भर यज्ञश्रियं नृमादनम् ॥

पतयन्मन्दयत्सखम् ॥ २ ॥

आ । ईम् । आशुम् । आशवे । भर । यज्ञश्रियम् । नृमादनम् ॥

पतयत् । मन्दयत्सखम् ॥ २ ॥

अस्येति । अशुते आशोति यागानित्याशुः तथाभूतायेंद्राय । “कृवापाजिमिखदिसाध्यशुभ्य इणि”त्युण् । ईमिति निपात इदमर्थे ईं इमं सोमं आभर आहर “हमहोर्भेइछंदसी”ति भः । कीदृशं सोमम् आशुम् सवनत्रयव्याप्तम् । यज्ञश्रियम् यज्ञसंपन्नम् । नृमादनम् ऋत्विजां हर्षहेतुम् । मास-
न्तेऽनेनेति करणे ह्युद् लिखरः । पतयत् पतयंतम् कर्मणि प्राप्नुवंतं पतेरदंतस्य सुरादिवाणिच् “छंद-
स्युभयये”ति शतुरार्धधातुकत्वेन शबभावात् “अदुपदेशादि”ति निघातो न । णिकोपाभावश्छांदसः ।
(मन्दयत्सखं) मंदयति हर्षयतीति मंदयन् इन्द्रः तस्मिन्सखायं “तत्पुरुषे तुल्यार्थे”ति सप्तमीपूर्व-
प्रकृतस्वरत्वेन ॥ २ ॥

अस्य पीत्वा शतक्रतो घनो वृत्राणामभवः ॥

प्रावो वाजेषु वाजिनम् ॥ ३ ॥

अस्य । पीत्वा । शतक्रतो इति शतऽक्रतो । घनः । वृत्राणाम् । अभवः ॥

प्र । आवः । वाजेषु । वाजिनम् ॥ ३ ॥

अस्येति । हे शतक्रतो अस्य सोमस्य पीत्वा वृत्राणां वृत्रदैत्यानां घनो अभवः दुःसहो भूः
“मूर्ध्नो घन” इति हंतैः काठिन्येऽप्यततो अर्शभाष्यच्च चित्वादंतोदात्तः । किंच वाजेषु संग्रामेषु वाजि-
नम् हविर्दातारम् प्रावः प्रकर्षेणारक्षः ॥ ३ ॥

तं त्वा वाजेषु वाजिनं वाजयामः शतक्रतो ॥

धनानामिन्द्र सातये ॥ ४ ॥

तम् । त्वा । वाजेषु । वाजिनम् । वाजयामः । शतक्रतो इति शतऽक्रतो ॥

धनानाम् । इन्द्र । सातये ॥ ४ ॥

तं त्वेति । हे शतक्रतो इन्द्र धनानां सातये संभजनार्थं षणु(ण) संभक्तौ “ऊतियूती”आदिना
क्लिष्टदासः वाजेषु युद्धेषु वाजिनं बलवंतं तं त्वा त्वां वाजयामः अक्षवंतं कुर्म ॥ ४ ॥

यो रायोऽवनिर्महान्सुपारः सुन्वतः सखा ॥

तस्मा इन्द्राय गायत ॥ ५ ॥

यः । रायः । अवनिः । महान् । सुपारः । सुन्वतः । सखा ॥

तस्मै । इन्द्राय । गायत ॥ ५ ॥

य इति । य इन्द्र रायो धनस्य “उडिदंपदाद्यपुंरैद्युभ्य” इति विभक्तेरुदात्तत्वम् । संहितायां तु
“स्वरितो बाहुदासे पदादावि”ति स्वरितः । अवनिः रक्षकः । “अतिसृष्टृष्वभ्यश्चविद्यभ्योऽगिरि”-
अनिप्रत्ययः । महान् तथा सुपारः सुष्ठु कर्मणः प्रापयिता । सुन्वतः यजमानस्य सखा । तस्मै
इन्द्राय गायत स्तुतिं कुरुत ॥ ५ ॥

अष्टमो वर्गः ॥

ॐ

आ त्वेता नि षीदतेन्द्रमभि प्र गायत ॥

सखायः स्तोमवाहसः ॥ १ ॥

आ । तु । आ । इत । नि । सीदत । इन्द्रम् । अभि । प्र । गायत ॥

सखायः । स्तोमवाहसः ॥ १ ॥

आत्विति । दशर्चं सूक्तम् । “सुरूपकृतं दशे”त्यनुवृत्तौ “आतु युंजेती”त्यनुक्रांतत्वाद् । ऋष्यादि प्राग्वत् । तुशब्दः क्षिप्रार्थः द्वाभ्यामाहभ्यामन्वेतुं इत्येवावर्तते । त्रिवृत्पंचदशादीन् स्तोमान् वहन्ति प्रापयन्ति ते स्तोमवाहसः “अर्तिस्तुसु” इत्यादिना स्तौतेर्मन् “वहिहाधाम्यच्छंदसी”ति बहेर-सुन् तत्र णिदित्यनुवृत्तेरुपधावृद्धिः । कृदुत्तरपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वे प्राप्ते “गतिकारकयोरपि पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वं चे”त्यौणादिकसूत्रात्समास आद्युदात्तः । तथाभूता ये सखाय ऋत्विजस्ते तु क्षिप्रं (आ इत) आग-च्छत निषीदत उपविशत । इन्द्र (अभि) सर्वतः (प्रगायत) प्रकर्षेण स्तुतः ॥ १ ॥

पुरुतमं पुरुणामीशानं वार्याणाम् ॥

इन्द्रं सोमे सचा सुते ॥ २ ॥

पुरुतमम् । पुरुणाम् । ईशानम् । वार्याणाम् ॥

इन्द्रम् । सोमे । सचा । सुते ॥ २ ॥

पुरुतममिति । सोमे सुते सति सचा सह इन्द्रं अभि प्रगायतेत्यनुषज्यते । कीदृशम् पुरुन् बहून् शत्रून् तमयति ग्लपयति इति पुरुतमः तं । तमु ग्लानौ ण्यंतात्कर्मण्यण् । कृदुत्तरपदप्रकृति-स्वरं बाधित्वा “परादि छंदसि बहुल”मित्युत्तरपदाद्युदात्तत्वम् । किं च पुरुणां बहूनां वार्याणां वर-णीयानां धनानां ईशानम् ॥ २ ॥

स घा नो योग आ भुवत्स राये स पुरंध्याम् ॥

गमद्वाजेभिरा स नः ॥ ३ ॥

सः । घ । नः । योगे । आ । भुवत् । सः । राये । सः । पुरंद्ध्याम् ॥

गमत् । वाजेभिः । आ । सः । नः ॥ ३ ॥

स घेति । घेत्यवधारणार्थो निपातः । स एवैन्द्रः नः योगे अप्राप्तपुरुषार्थप्राप्तौ आ भुवत् भवतु । स एव राये धनार्थं च भवतु । स एव पुरंध्यां पुरं शरीरं ऋयतेऽस्यामिति “कर्मण्यधिकरणे घेति” किंः अलुक् छंदसः । दासीभारादित्वात्पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वम् । स एव वाजेभिरग्नैः सह नोऽस्मान् आगमत् आगच्छतु ॥ ३ ॥

यस्य संस्थे न वृण्वते हरी समत्सु शत्रवः ॥

तस्मा इन्द्राय गायत ॥ ४ ॥

यस्य । सम्स्थे । न । वृण्वते । हरी इति । समत्सु । शत्रवः ॥

तस्मै । इन्द्राय । गायत ॥ ४ ॥

यस्येति । समत्सु युद्धेऽपि यस्य संस्थे रथे युक्तौ हरी शत्रवो न वृण्वते न सहन्ते । शत्रव इति आगम्यतेरौणादिकः कर्त्तुः । प्रज्ञादौ शत्रुरिति पाठात् हस्वः । तस्मा इत्यादि प्राग्वत् ॥ ४ ॥

सुतपात्रे सुता इमे शुचयः अन्ति वीतये ॥

सोमासो दध्याशिरः ॥ ५ ॥

सुतऽपात्रे । सुताः । इमे । शुचयः । अन्ति । वीतये ॥

सोमासः । दधिऽआशिरः ॥ ५ ॥

सुतपात्र इति । सुताः अभिषुताः । शुचयः शुद्धाः दधाति पुष्पातीति दधि “आहगमहनजनः किंकनौ लिहचे”ति किन् । आ समंतात् शृणाति हिनस्ति दोषमिति आशीः संस्कारकं येषां ते दध्याशिरः इमे सोमाः सुतपात्रे सोमपानकर्त्रे पिबतेर्वनिष् । वीतये भक्षणार्थम् । वी गतिप्रजनकांस्त्यजानाम्नाह्वेषु अस्मात् “मन्त्रे वृषेषपचमनभूवीरा उदात्त” इति क्लिबुदात्तः । यंसि मामुचति ॥ ५ ॥

नवमो वर्गः ॥

त्वं सुतस्य पीतये सुदो वृद्धो अजायथाः ॥

इन्द्र ज्यैष्ठ्याय सुक्रतो ॥ १ ॥

त्वम् । सुतस्य । पीतये । सद्यः । वृद्धः । अजायथाः ॥

इन्द्र । ज्यैष्ठ्याय । सुक्रतो इति सुऽक्रतो ॥ १ ॥

त्वमिति । हे सुक्रतो इन्द्र त्वं सुतस्य सोमस्य पीतये पानाय “स्थागापापचो भावे” इति किन् । उत्तरसूत्रगतस्य उदात्तपदस्येहानुकर्षणादुदात्तः । ज्यैष्ठ्यस्य भावो ज्यैष्ठ्यम् ज्यम् तदर्थं च सद्यः वृद्धः अस्मादात् अजायथाः भवसि ॥ १ ॥

आ त्वा विशन्वाशवः सोमास इन्द्र गिर्वणः ॥

शं ते सन्तु प्रचेतसे ॥ २ ॥

आ । त्वा । विशन्तु । आशवः । सोमासः । इन्द्र । गिर्वणः ॥

शम् । ते । सन्तु । प्रचेतसे ॥ २ ॥

आत्वेति । गीर्भिः स्तुतिभिर्न्यते सेव्यते इति गिर्वणाः तस्य संबोधनं हे गिर्वणः हे इन्द्र । वनवण संभक्षौ अस्मादनु । आशवः सवनत्रये प्रकृतिविकृत्योर्वा व्यापकाः । सोमासः सोमाः त्वामाविशन्तु । किं च प्रचेतसे प्रकृष्टज्ञानाय ते तुभ्यं शं सुखरूपाः संतु ॥ २ ॥

त्वां स्तोमा अवीवृधन्त्वामुक्था शतक्रतो ॥

त्वां वर्धन्तु नो गिरः ॥ ३ ॥

त्वाम् । स्तोमाः । अवीवृधन् । त्वाम् । उक्था । शतक्रतो इति शतऽक्रतो ॥

त्वाम् । वर्धन्तु । नः । गिरः ॥ ३ ॥

त्वामिति । हे शतक्रतो स्तोमाः स्तोत्राणि त्वामवाधन् वर्धितवन्ति । किं च उच्यते इति उक्था उक्त्यानि शास्त्राणि “पादतुदिवधिरिविसिषिभ्यस्थह” इति वक्षेत्स्थह । त्वां अवीवृधन्त्वामुक्था शतक्रतो नः अस्माकं गिरः स्तुतयोपि त्वां वर्धन्तु । अतर्भाविष्यन्ति ज्यैष्ठ्यत्वेन परमोपदम् ॥ ३ ॥

अक्षिवोतिः सनेदिमं वाजमिन्द्रः सहस्रिणम् ॥

अक्षिन्मिन्द्रानि पौंस्या ॥ ४ ॥

अक्षितऽकतिः । सनेयः । इमम् । वाजम् । इन्द्रः । सहस्रिणम् ॥

अक्षिन्द्र । मिन्द्रानि । पौंस्या ॥ ४ ॥

अक्षितमिति । अक्षितोतिः अक्षितितरणः । किं हिंसायाम् ।

सहस्रसंख्यायुक्तं इमं वाजं सोमरूपमज्ञं सनेत् संभजेत् यस्मिन् वाजे विश्वानि सर्वाणि पौंस्या पुंस्त्वानि वर्तते । पुंसः कर्मणीत्यर्थे ब्राह्मणादित्वात् ण्यम् ॥ ४ ॥

मा नो मर्ता अभि दुहन्तु नूनामिन्द्र गिर्वेणः ॥

ईशानो यवया वधम् ॥ ५ ॥

मा । नः । मर्ताः । अभि । दुहन् । तनूनाम् । इन्द्र । गिर्वेणः ॥

ईशानः । यवय । वधम् ॥ ५ ॥

मा न इति । हे गिर्वेणः इन्द्र मर्ताः विरोधिनो मनुष्याः नः अस्माकं तनूनां माभिद्रुहन् अभितो द्रोहं मा कुर्युः । ईशानस्त्वं वधं वैरिभिश्चिकीर्षितं यवय अस्मत्तः पृथक्कुरु । यौतेर्गिवि “संज्ञा-
पूनीतो विधिरमित्य” इति वृद्धिः । मर्ता इत्यत्र “असिहस्तिमृग्रिण्वामिदमित्यु” “विभ्यस्तस्मि”ति वच् ॥ ५ ॥

दशमो वर्गः ॥

युञ्जन्ति ब्रध्नमरुषं चरन्तुं परि तस्थुषः ॥
रोचन्ते रोचना दिवि ॥ १ ॥

युञ्जन्ति । ब्रध्नम् । अरुषम् । चरन्तम् । परि । तस्थुषः ॥

रोचन्ते । रोचना । दिवि ॥ १ ॥

युञ्जन्तीति । दशमं सूक्ते आयास्तिस्त्रोतिमा चेति चतस्र ऐन्द्राः अन्याः षट् मारुतः आसु “वीळु
मिन्” “इन्द्रेणे”त्येते ऐन्द्रावपि तथा चातुकान्तं “सुरूपकृतं दशैन्द्रमा तु युञ्जंस्यादहेत्येताः षण्मारुतो
वीळुषिदिन्द्रेणेत्यैश्वर्यं चेति” । ब्रध्नं महातं महाज्ञामसु पाठात् । रोषंति रुषाः इगुपधकक्षणः कः । न
सन्ति रुषा यस्येत्यरुषः “नम्सुभ्यामि”त्यतोदात्तत्वम् । चरन्तं हविर्ग्रहीतुं प्रसरन्तं इन्द्र ये परि तस्थुषः
परितोऽवस्थिताः (प्राणिनः) युञ्जन्ति कर्मणि देवतात्वेन संबध्दन्ति । ते दिवि रोचना रोचन्ते
प्रकाशन्ते । रोचना “अनुदात्तेतश्च हलादेरि”ति युच् ॥ १ ॥

युञ्जन्त्यस्य काम्या हरी विपक्षसा रथे ॥

शोणा धृष्णू नृवाहसा ॥ २ ॥

युञ्जन्ति । अस्य । काम्या । हरी इति । विपक्षसा । रथे ॥

शोणा । धृष्णू इति । नृवाहसा ॥ २ ॥

युञ्जन्तीति । अस्य इन्द्रस्य रथे हरी अश्वविशेषौ युञ्जन्ति सारथयः । काम्या काममित्यौ ।
विपक्षसा विविधं पक्षसी ययोस्तौ । पक्ष परिग्रहे अस्मादसुन् “पक्षसी तु स्मृतौ पक्षा”त्यत्र चरन्ते ।
शोणा शोणवर्णौ धृष्णू प्रगल्भौ नृवाहसा नृणां पुरुषाणां इन्द्रतत्सारथिप्रमुखानां बोधारी । अत्येवत्र
“इन्द्रोन्मादेशोऽनुदात्तस्त्वृतीयादावि”ति अच् अनुदात्तः ॥ २ ॥

केतुं कृण्वन्नकेतवे पेशो मर्या अपेशसे ॥

समुषङ्गिरजायथाः ॥ ३ ॥

केतुम् । कृण्वन् । अकेतवे । पेशः । मर्याः । अपेशसे ॥

सम् । उपवर्गभिः । अज्जामुधाः ॥ ३ ॥

केतुमिति । मर्यान् मर्यान् असति गच्छति । मर्येषु असति तेषु प्रकाशते वा मर्याः । अस गति-
शीत्यादानेषु किवन्तात्संबोधनम् । हे इन्द्र अकेतवे ज्ञानरहिताय केतुं कृण्वन् प्रज्ञानं कुर्वन् अपेशसे
जमकायकपाय पेशः उत्कृष्टं रूपं कुर्वन् त्वं उपवर्गभिः शत्रून् दहन्निः रश्मिभिः । कटः शत्रावेशो क्षपि
शत्रोः अज्जामुधाः कः । सौम्य अज्जामुधाः आविरमर्षः ॥ ३ ॥

आदह स्वधामनु पुनर्गर्भत्वमैरिरे ॥

दधाना नाम यज्ञियम् ॥ ४ ॥

आत् । अह । स्वधाम् । अनु । पुनः । गर्भस्त्वम् । आऽइरिरे ॥

दधानाः । नाम । यज्ञियम् ॥ ४ ॥

आदहेति । निपातावेतौ आदित्यानंतये अहेत्यवधारणे आदह वर्षर्तोरनन्तरमेव स्वधामनु उदकं लक्ष्मीकृत्य स्वधाशब्दस्योदकनामसु पाठात् । पुनः प्रतिसंवत्सरं गर्भत्वं गर्भभावशब्दस्य भावितपरत्वं “यो वै भूमे”त्यादिवत् । ऐरिरे प्रेरितवन्तः मेघमध्ये जलस्य गर्भाकारं संपादितवन्त इत्यर्थः । अत्र च देवताध्वान्मरुतः कर्तारो बोध्याः कीदृशाः यज्ञियं यज्ञार्हं नाम दधानाः । एरिरे आरूपात् ईर प्रेरणे अस्माद्धिद “इजादेश्वे”त्यान् भवति मंत्रस्वात् । अहशब्दयोगाज्जिघाताभावः “नुपश्यपश्यताहैः पूजयामि”ति निषेधात् । (यज्ञियं) “यज्ञत्विग्भ्यां घञ्जावि”ति घः ॥ ४ ॥

वीलु चिदारुजलुभिर्गुहा चिदिन्द्र वह्निभिः ॥

अविन्द उस्त्रिया अनु ॥ ५ ॥

वीलु । चित् । आरुजलुभिः । गुहा । चित् । इन्द्र । वह्निभिः ॥

अविन्दः । उस्त्रियाः । अनु ॥ ५ ॥

वीलु चिदिति । अस्ति किञ्चिदुपाख्यानं । पणिभिरसुरैर्देवलोकाद्भावोऽपहृताः अधकारे प्रक्षिप्ताः ताश्चेदो मरुजिः सहाजयदिति । एतदभिप्रेत्योच्यते । वीळिति हे इन्द्र वीलु चित् द्रवमपि स्थानं आरु-जलुभिः रुजो भंगे अस्मादौणादिकः कलुच् । वह्निभिः वोढृभिः मरुजिः सहितस्त्वं गुहा चित् गुहा-यामपि स्थापितवान् उस्त्रियाः गा अन्वविदः । अन्विष्य लब्धवानसि ॥ ५ ॥

एकादशो वर्गः ॥

ॐ

देवयन्तो यथा मतिमच्छा विद्वसुं गिरः ॥

महामनूषत श्रुतम् ॥ १ ॥

देवयन्तः । यथा । मतिम् । अच्छ । विद्वत्स्वसुम् । गिरः ॥

महाम् । अनूषत । श्रुतम् ॥ १ ॥

देवयन्त इति । देवान् मरुत्संज्ञकान् आत्मन इच्छन्तो देवयन्तः “सुप आत्मनः क्यच्” “न च्छन्दस्यपुत्रस्ये”ति निषेधादीत्वदीर्घौ न । गृण्तीति गिरः स्तोतारः गृणातेः क्तिप् । विद्वत्सुं विद्वतीति विद्वन्ति प्रसिद्धानि वसूनि यस्य तं । विदेः कर्मणि कर्तरि शना कर्मवद्भावेन यगात्मनेपदे तु न कर्तृत्वभावकत्वात् । महान् महान्तं नकारतकारयोर्लोपः छांदसः । यद्वा मह उत्सवः तमपयते इति महाः विच् । श्रुतं विख्यातं मरुद्वर्णं अच्छ अभिमुखं प्राप्तं । अध्याहृतधातुयोगादच्छेत्त्यस्य गतित्वं निपातत्वं च । अनूषत स्तुतवन्तः पू स्तवने कुटादिर्दीर्घातः व्यत्ययेन तच् इडभावश्छांदसः । अत्र द्वातः मर्ति मन्तारं इदं यथा । “क्तिष्कौ च संज्ञायामि” ति मन्यतेः कर्तरि क्तिच् ॥ १ ॥

इन्द्रेण सं हि दक्षसे संजग्मानो अबिभ्युषा ॥

मुन्दू संमानवर्चसा ॥ २ ॥

इन्द्रेण । सम् । हि । दक्षसे । सम्ऽजग्मानः । अबिभ्युषा ॥

मुन्दू इति । सम्मानवर्चसा ॥ २ ॥

इन्द्रेणेति । हे मरुद्वर्ण अबिभ्युषा भीतिरहितेन्द्रेण संजग्मानः संगच्छमानः संदक्षसे हि

संहश्येथाः खलु । प्रार्थनायां लेद “लेटोडाटावि”त्यङागमः “सिङ्बहुलं लेटी”ति सिप् “संज्ञापूर्वको विधिरनित्य” इति गुणो न । किं च मंदू मदि स्तुतिमोदमदकांतिगतिषु इदित्वाद्युम् बाहुलकात्कुः युवां समानवर्चसा तुल्यदीप्ती स्थः ॥ २ ॥

अनवचैरुभिद्युभिर्मखः सहस्वदर्चति ॥

गुणैरिन्द्रस्य काम्यैः ॥ ३ ॥

अनवचैः । अभिद्युभिः । मखः । सहस्वत् । अर्चति ॥

गुणैः । इन्द्रस्य । काम्यैः ॥ ३ ॥

अनवचैरिति । मखः यज्ञः अनवचैः निर्दोषै अभिद्युभिः अभिगता द्यौर्यैस्तैः । काम्यैः कमनीयैः गुणैः मरुत्समूहैः सहितं इन्द्रस्य इंद्रं सहस्वत् बलोपेतं यथा भवति तथा अर्चति पूजयति ॥ ३ ॥

अतः परिज्मन्ना गहि दिवो वा रोचनादधि ॥

समस्मिन्नञ्जते गिरः ॥ ४ ॥

अतः । परिज्मन् । आ । गहि । दिवः । वा । रोचनात् । अधि ॥

सम् । अस्मिन् । ऋजते । गिरः ॥ ४ ॥

अत इति । हे परिज्मन् परितो व्यापिन् मरुद्गण । अजेः परिपूर्वस्य “श्चुञ्जति”त्यादिना मन्प्रत्ययेऽकारलोप आद्युदात्तत्वं (आमञ्जितनिघातेन) प्रत्याख्यायते अतः अस्मात्स्वस्थानादंतरिक्षादागहि आगच्छ रोचनादीप्यमानादिवः युलोकाद्वा अध्यागच्छ । यतः अस्मिन् मखे ऋत्विक् गिरः स्तुतीः समृज्जते सम्यक् प्रसाधयति । ऋजतिः प्रसाधनकर्मणि यास्कः । पूर्वमब्रोपात्तस्य मखस्यास्मिन्निति अन्वादेशात् “इदमोऽन्वादेशोऽनुदात्तसृतीयादा”वित्यश्रु ॥ ४ ॥

इतो वा सातिमीमहे दिवो वा पार्थिवादधि ॥

इन्द्रं महो वा रजसः ॥ ५ ॥

इतः । वा । सातिम् । ईमहे । दिवः । वा । पार्थिवात् । अधि ॥

इन्द्रं । महः । वा । रजसः ॥ ५ ॥

इत इति । इतोऽस्मात्पार्थिवात् पृथिवीलोकाद्वा दिवो वा महः महतः प्रौढात् रजसः लोकात् । लोका रजांसि । अंतरिक्षलोकाद्वा सार्तिं धनदानं इंद्रं देवं अधीमहे आधिक्येन याचामहे याच्नाकर्मसु ईमहे यामीति पाठात् । “तिङ्गतिङ्” इति निघातस्तु “चवायोगे प्रथमे”ति निषिध्यते ॥ ५ ॥

इति द्वादशो वर्गः ॥

॥ शिवाय नमः ॥

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✿ Correction: Pages 241 to 255 of this issue are erroneously numbered as 1 to 15. .

Some two thousand years ago one of the greatest Saviours and Martyrs declared, 'All they that take the sword shall perish with the sword'. Even five hundred years earlier than him, another great Saviour had proclaimed, 'Enmity is put out not by enmity, but by love'. And millions tried to mould their lives in the noble spirit of this teaching.

Yet man's primitive passions, instincts and impulses—the unregenerate in man is so powerful, the *indriyagrāma* is so *balavān*, the *manas* is so *cañcala*, that within two milleniums after the rise of the last great Saviour, humanity was once more loosing its faith in itself and in spiritual values. This time it found itself almost inextricably involved in a rapidly rising crescendo of self-destructive tendencies.

This crisis in the soul of humanity, this danger to its very existence could not be met with by the inane repetition of the teachings of past Saviours. The crying need was for a concrete demonstration of how the Life of Spirit is actually lived, how the precepts of the Saviours can be realized into living practice.

And once again East stepped forward with a Saviour who could revivify the faith of humanity and buttress the eternal principles that were challenged by an age of tottering values and evaporating faiths.

Gandhiji's allotted mission was to reclaim the erring humanity to the Life of Spirit. His own life was a concrete manifestation of *Ahimsā*, eschewing violence and cultivation of all-embracing love, and *Satya*, perfect harmony between thought, word and deed.

His existence symbolized also, in diverse ways, the clash between Higher Self and Lower Self, between Good and Evil and the ultimate triumph of the former. This epic struggle is the recurrent yet ever fresh theme of mythologies and literatures world over. Gandhiji's experiments with truth presented us with a variation of the same theme. Therein we witnessed before our very eyes the fascinating phenomenon of a great spirit in the making, of the transfiguration of the human into the divine. Gandhiji, we felt, was one of us and yet far above us—indeed, of him we can say with a special application, so *bhūmiṃ viśvato vṛtvā atyatiṣṭhad daśaṅgulam*.

The disappearance of such rare spirits is as much significant and fruitful as their appearance. With what superb sublimity that Yogi came to leave his mortal coil! 'He was wounded for our transgressions; he was bruised for our iniquities; the chastisement of our peace was upon him and with his stripes we are healed'.

Generations to come shall have to exercise their insight and intellect before the meaning of that spiritually integrated personality is realized in full measure. We can but prattle a few words to serve as one small outlet to the overwhelming sense of sorrow, and devotion and respect for him commonly shared by the humanity at large.

EDUCATION AND CULTURE*

By Shri K. M. MUNSHI

I am indebted to my friend His Excellency the Chancellor and the Vice-Chancellor for giving me the honour of delivering the Convocation Address for this year; for, this has been a fateful year. In this year we saw our struggle for independence ended. We also saw the land in awful torment when it was rent in twain; millions of our countrymen uprooted from their soil; numberless innocents massacred. We saw before us a mighty tragedy unfolded the like of which the world only witnessed at Calvary, nineteen hundred and forty-seven years ago. Now we see before us the gathering of war clouds over Europe which threaten the very existence of the human race. Much as I would wish to speak of purely academic themes, on this occasion the situation vibrates with such insistent issues as cannot be ignored.

An age has closed and another has opened. In this, Job Charnok's city, where Warren Hastings first wove the web of our slavery, now, Sir, you preside, the last of its Governors under the British Crown you who were one of the sturdy heroes of our freedom's battle.

Our struggle has been unique in the annals of the world. The British came; saw us disorganised; and bought our soul by a promise of enforced peace. In search for a new dignity, we mimicked foreign ways and mouthed strange accents. We forgot ancient dignity. Only the tremendous vitality of our Culture saved us.

Ram Mohan Roy awoke to a new light which he saw with undimmed eyes; it was the quenchless flame of the *Upaniṣads*. Dayanand, almost in the hour of the national disaster of 1857, voiced the urge for a new integration of our Culture, going to the *Vedas*, our rock of ages. Ramakrishna, the noblest man of modern times, gave new validity to the heritage of the *Gītā*. How can I, a novelist, forget the father of India's literary Renaissance who jointly with Alexandre Dumas, fanned my little creative spark into flame—Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya? Like a second Bhagīratha

* Convocation address of the University of Calcutta, March 1948.

he brought down our other-worldly religious devotion to earth in order to fertilise secular efforts. Vivekananda gave us back our lost dignity and our departed faith in our heritage. Surendra Nath, the trumpet-voiced, roused us to the vigour of a militant nationalism. When with Japan's victory over Russia, Asia awoke to a new strength, Shri Aravind, with a prophet's vision, transmuted Indian culture into neo-nationalism which saw the Mother in the Motherland. Then came Gandhiji, the architect of the cunning hand and the unerring eye, and built the fortress of our freedom which resisted for over a quarter of a century the onslaughts of the mightiest and the cleverest empire in world's history. We won; we were free; we stepped into a new life.

Your Chancellor with his uncanny perspicacity realized—much to my chagrin, I confess—that unity of India was incompatible in the context of a non-violent struggle, and as a result India emerged compact, though truncated. Panditji, with the flaming eye of idealism sought democracy; and India is today the greatest democracy in the world. Sardar Patel, the firm-planted pillar of our security, stood for strength; and India has been integrating fast—so fast indeed, that the map of India, with every morning paper, looks like the fantastic dream of a none too sober student of geography!

India today is a free and sovereign nation; naturally, therefore, it faces the baffling problems which sudden independences brings in its wake. Internally, we find around us the symptoms of political immaturity; administrative inexperience; the hunt for new-formed power; a contempt for correct political behaviour; the distrust of tried leaders; a sense of irresponsibility; self-righteous dogmatism, which though plunged in power politics, thinks—and worse, acts—in terms of school-room ethics; above all, the absence of an exuberant will to work.

For a nation learning to take its first stride in its independent career, conditions could not be worse. The war has left us its horrid legacies; rising spirals of inflation; lack of production; inadequacy of transport systems; race for international alignments; and as if these were not enough, the prospects of another war 'to end all wars.'

On the other hand, both in India and Pakistan we have lost—I hope, temporarily—the spiritual maturity which we as a people had acquired by slow effort through centuries. I use the word

'spiritual', not with its other-worldly implications, but implying the domination of the spirit over the things 'of earth, earthy.' We rose from noble examples of our sages, *satsaṅga* to noble conduct, *sadācāra*; from noble conduct to principles, *satya*; from noble principles to absolute nobility which lay in self-realisation, *samsiddhi*, in the conquest of attachment, wrath and fear, in seeing Me in all and all in Me, '*mām paśyati sarvatra mayi sarvaṁ ca paśyati*'. But we inverted the Platonic concept of progress. We descended from ugly forms to ugly conduct; from ugly conduct to principles, till we finally arrived at the absolute ugliness—the assassination of the one man to whom we owe not only all that we have but a consciousness of all that we were. I refuse to sit in moral judgment over those who fell from grace; I know that they had to face grave provocations; often my blood boiled at the harrowing tales of barbarism. But courage, restraint and dignity make for culture only when they are maintained in face of grave provocations. If there were no provocations these qualities would cease to be prized.

These ills—adverse conditions, political immaturity and spiritual lapse—can only be cured if our Universities rise to the occasion. They are no longer factories for turning out lawyers and officers to support the British rule; nor even are they middlemen for distributing the doubtful gift of Western Culture. They can no more continue to be the agencies for maintaining the mechanical and commercial system of holding examinations. They have to be the seats of Indian Culture.

Our Universities are our only hope in the arduous task of upbuilding the economic, intellectual and spiritual life of our new nation. This age is variably called the age of the common man, the age of mass uplift, the age of classless society, the age of every sweeping generalisation which modern mind can invent. But in truth it is an age—like every other age—when the finest minds are needed to add to the dynamic strength of the country. For, only these minds, when trained by our Universities to the highest efficiency, can provide the superior intelligence, industry and force of character which will give India the leadership of the world in action and thought. It will be catastrophic indeed if we sacrifice intensity to expanse, universities to elementary school; the uncommon mind to the common; for, if the uncommon mind is allowed to run to waste common man will never be raised.

The new life, it is said, postulates a new education. The aim of our university education, therefore, must be coextensive with the new and full life which is now ours. Nay, education being an art, it must have our whole present-day life, our political, social, economic and spiritual well-being for its subject. To attain this objective, the University must be like the āśrama of old. In such a seat of culture, education was a spiritual endeavour where the teacher sat surrounded by his pupils, imparting not merely knowledge but courage, restraint and dignity, not by precept, but by example; where the student lived, not to have his presence marked, nor to secure a pass, not to go on a strike to enjoy an ill-deserved holiday, but to learn the art of shaping his own life, the art of self-sculpture, by humility, *praṇipāta*, by developing a spirit of enquiry, *pariprasna* by service, *sevā*.

Kālidāsa, in *Sākuntala*, has given us a picture of an āśrama, a shrine of living culture with its marvellous surroundings, its well-mannered pupils, its tone and atmosphere full of peace; but we see its soul only when Kaṇva comes, that beautiful old man who as it were envelopes his pupils, the deer, the bees and the flowers with an all-embracing humanity. The very presence of such a Kaṇva in our Universities, like Plato, as described by Newman, would be to the student 'a stay for his mind to rest, or a burning thought in his heart, a bond of union with men like himself, ever after.'

Not only the relation between the teacher and the pupil but the quality of our University education must change. University education, all the world over, has deteriorated, partly due to electivism, partly due to a general state of disequilibrium, or rather a spiritual hypnosis in men which speedy industrialisation and rationalism of life has caused.

Electivism connotes that all subjects have an equal educational value and that experimental or social sciences have the same value as classical and historical studies. This outlook is the offspring of Westernism, the way of life evolved by materialistic tendencies which have made a fetish of experimental sciences.

If there is one factor more than any other which has forced a moral crisis on the modern world, it is the Westernistic education, which has built up the militant organisation of materialism. Its products find joy of life only in smut and sensation. The sanctity of the home has no appeal for them, for easy and swift divorce is

to them an emblem of liberty. They deride self-discipline. They scorn moral values. They admit nothing higher than the knowledge that subserves immediate practical ends. Naturally, in a world of which they are the *elite*, purges, mass murders, Belsen horrors, wicked displacement of men, women and children by millions appear normal. Where they do not destroy they propose to establish soulless regimentation. We can have nothing to do with such an outlook. India wants to be a democracy and develop democratic virtues, which our young men will acquire if our Universities, at an early collegiate stage, insist on an intensive study of subjects of purely cultural interest and make the student responsive to higher values.

At the same time our national education must stimulate national productivity. In an international society which is far removed from the moral plane, scientific studies and technical skill are essential for national survival. But in Bacon's words 'I cannot call upon men to sell their books and build furnaces, quitting and forsaking Minerva and the Muses and relying upon Vulcan.'

India is passing from the organic society of the past, created by the unconscious forces of tradition; we are now evolving, as in Europe, a consciously organised society in which our higher aspirations have to combat with the deadly power of the machine cutting into every aspect of life. We can only escape the fate of Europe if we—now free to go our own characteristic way—evolve a new education shaped by our own cultural tradition, which I have ventured to name Creative Education in my book *Creative Art of Life*. Such an education in the earlier stages should be formative; such as would teach the student permanent values in life, not merely arm him with effective skill, make him a useful instrument and yet a man of culture. His interests need not be narrow; nor need he be trained to look at life from the angle of his special subject; he must be equipped for a complete life. Indian tradition and outlook favour such education. But for it the magnificence, continuity and vitality of our Culture would not have been possible.

Such a formative education leads the student to create himself. It is a process of creative self-sculpture; an art by which life energy is so shaped and developed that with every effort the artist attains a higher stage of self-fulfilment. On the other hand the present education leaves the student feeling himself inadequate, incomplete

and unhappy; it is anything but creative. To be creative, it must give self-fulfilment which implies a sense of completeness, freedom and growing perfection; a capacity which brings love and achievement in a greater measure; a strength which rises superior to human weakness; and an increasingly correct perspective of the unity and goal of life.

At all times the art of self-sculpture in the hands of an aspiring learner who is a fresh young man of unformed habits, is difficult to acquire. During this age he is generally denied the atmosphere of a home where parents practise idealism and teach consecration. The material with which he is to work is also his own individual nature of which he has little or no knowledge. Any system of education which takes into account these difficulties must provide three essential conditions. It must first train the student to precision, analysis, concentration and responsiveness to noble impulses; secondly train him to ordinate his faculties for concentrated work; and lastly to teach him to express himself under the inspiration of masters in the art of self-sculpture who have moulded India's culture. These conditions would only be satisfied if the ground is prepared by a study of the life-stories of our national heroes; of the history and culture of our country in the light of world progress; and of literary masterpieces which India has given the world, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *S'ākuntala*, the *Bhāgavata* and the *Bhagavad Gītā*.

It must be realised that a student is a composite product of his individual talents and aptitudes; his heredity and environments; the associations which spring from his relations to his society and his country; the imponderable influences of his soil, of the sights, sounds and habits of his native land, and above all, of the culture to which he is born. These factors may not all be apparent in the student; but they constitute his sub-conscious self all the same. Creative Education, therefore, takes its stand on the fact that nothing alien to the individual nature of a student can be taught without denying self-fulfilment. The first step, therefore, in such an education is to teach the student to study, express and live upto the permanent values of his native Culture.

Indian culture is not the same thing as the material equipment of life in India, which is civilization. Cultural values are permanent; they are an end in themselves. Civilization is the garb

of life ; only a means to lead a comfortable life. We are superior to Śrī Rāmacandra in civilization. We travel in aeroplanes; he travelled in canoes or on foot. But in absolute values, in pursuit of truth, in idealism, in character, in the beauty of human relations, he would be a bold man indeed who will say that he is superior to Śrī Rāmacandra.

Each nation has its distinctive culture which forms the source of its strength. Our Culture is an organic growth, native to our soil, our history and the central ideas round which our national life has revolved for generations. Many educated Indians once tried to ape British dress, manners, and habits; some of them do still; but they failed in their attempt to force an alien culture upon themselves or others. Only when they sought self-fulfilment by living upto the values of Indian Culture did they become true to themselves and succeed in giving strength to the group-life,

Shri Aravinda spent his growing years in England, imbibing the best in Westernism. But soon Indian Culture asserted itself. He gave up foreign dress and ways of living. He studied Indian languages and literature. And when he tried to perfect himself in the art of creative life peculiarly Indian, that he became a great apostle of modern Indian nationalism, a great thinker, and a Yogi.

Gandhiji was educated for the Bar in England. But his sub-conscious self declined to take to Westernism. He had to recapture the fundamentals of Indian culture for himself before he became the architect of resurgent India, challenged Westernism, and stood out as supreme artist of creative life-energy.

Our new education, therefore, must follow the lines of our Culture. It must affirm the Man, his inner self and, his ultimate destiny as much his historical and social responsibility. Of such an education there should be two basic principles :

First, each individual has an individual nature. For him, the highest law is to express it through thought, word and deed which are compact and intrinsically his own. And his highest destiny is to be prepared to die in order to fulfil the law of his being.

Second, Education, to be truly creative, must make the student more and more himself and teach him to realise his possibilities to the fullest, and so, to fulfil himself. In this way, his personality will grow from strength to strength producing the highest results from his relation to life.

It is an error to suppose that a man is truly educated, because he is a good scientist or a literary man though a bad husband; because he is a capable lawyer though a bad citizen; because he is a good patriot but a moral wreck. Human life is one. It cannot be divided into compartments. And no one can evade his responsibility to life as a whole by claiming that he is devoted to a part of it.

Our universities will fulfil themselves if they take into account not only the complete growth of the student but the totality of his relation. Life-energy is one torrent and its volume and intensity can be increased only by treating the whole of it.

Thank you, Sir, once again. Now I have only to give one message for the young men; May your path be happy—*śivāste panthānaḥ santu.*

Was the Prāgjyotiṣa of Naraka in Assam or in Kathiawad?

By Prof. V. B. Athavale.

In the December 1946 issue of the Indian Historical Quarterly, Mr. N. K. Bhattasali has written the article, 'New Lights on the History of Assam'. In the section 2, with the title, 'The kingdom of THIS', he has shown that the hitherto unidentified country of 'THIS', which is mentioned at the end of the famous Greek work, 'The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea', compiled in the first century A. D., to be none else than Prāgjyotiṣa. On page 247, he writes, 'The whole of Eastern India was anti-Kṛṣṇa and anti-Pāṇḍava, during the Period of the Mahābhārata war. Most powerful kings of Bengal and Assam were Paṇḍraka Vāsudeva of North Bengal and Bhagadatta of Assam. The aged Bhagadatta was killed by Arjuna in the Kuru war. With Bhagadatta ends the Paurāṇic history of Prāgjyotiṣa, and along with the rest of India, a dark Period sets in for Prāgjyotiṣa for about a thousand years. We have no means of knowing if the province was included in north Indian empire of Candragupta and As'oka. The indications are to the contrary, because Buddhism which reached its high water-mark during the reign of As'oka, appears to have left Assam untouched. But we have two important pieces of authentic evidence to show that the country continued to prosper and maintain commerce relations with the rest of India. The Chinese traveller Hieuen Tsang, who visited Kāmarūpa (Prāgjyotiṣa) in 640 A. D., states that the country continued to remain a stronghold of the Vedic and Paurāṇic religion. It is also well-known that some Vedic customs and festivals like Bhiu, still prevail in Assam and are honoured as national festivals. It is thus gratifying to find that the great flood of Buddhism, which swept all over India under the patronage of As'oka, left Assam undisturbed and the kingdom of Naraka and Bhagadatta continued to remain the last and the most impregnable stronghold of the Vedic religion.

I shall now prove that Naraka, his son Bhagadatta and his grandson Vajradatta were at Prāgjyotiṣa, in Kathiawad. It was Vajradatta who was defeated by Arjuna in battle over the sacrificial horse, and after attending the As'vamedha went to Kāmarūpa and established his kingdom there. At the end of this article I shall quote from a copper-plate found in Assam, which will show that the genealogy of Vajradatta can be uniformly traced upto Bhāskaravarman, who was present when Hieuen Tsang visited Kāmarūpa in 640 A. D.

We must start with Narakāsura, who was the grand-father of Vajradatta who went to Assam. Mbh. III. 12. 18. says, "Kṛṣṇa killed Bhauma Naraka and brought back the maṇi-kunḍalas". 29th verse says, "Kṛṣṇa killed Nisunda and Naraka and after clearing the barricades raised by Muru, the way to Prāgjyotiṣa town became free again." Saṁhā. 45. 7, tells, "When I was engaged at the Prāgjyotiṣa town, S'is'upāla, the son of my paternal aunt tried to burn

Dvārakā like a wicked man." Udyoga. 130. 43-44, says, "Kṛṣṇa went to Prāgjyotiṣa and after killing Naraka and his confederates released the thousands of girls who were kept in captivity. Dvidida Vānara, a friend of Naraka tried to push big stones over the head of Kṛṣṇa when he was entering the gate of Prāgjyotiṣa." Droṇa. 11. 5, says, "Kṛṣṇa killed Naraka and Mura." Karṇa. 5. 55, says, "Just as Kṛṣṇa killed Muru and Naraka—" S'ānti. 339. 91-93, tells, "Kṛṣṇa killed Bhauma Naraka and Mura at Prāgjyotiṣa and carried a lot of wealth to his town Dvārakā in Kus'asthali." Bhāgavata 10. 69 says, "Nārada came to Dvārakā when he heard that Kṛṣṇa had killed Naraka and brought to Dvārakā thousands of girls who were kept in captivity by him." Hari. 11. 63. 17-19, tell, "The name of the mother of Naraka was Mahī and he stayed in the Prāgjyotiṣa town. He had four assistants called Hayagrīva, Nisunḍa, Paṭicanada and Muru. (Naraka is alternatively called Bhaumāśura, because the name of his mother was Mahī i. e. Bhūmi.)"

The consistancy in the various references proves beyond doubt that the Narakāśura incident is not a poetic fancy of the Purāṇas. The problem now is to determine the site of Prāgjyotiṣa, where the event occurred and to relate it with other events in the life-history of Kṛṣṇa. Garga. Dvār. Adhyāya 8, says "Kṛṣṇa released 16000 girls from the captivity of Bhaumāśura before he went for the Rājasūya sacrifice." This is verified by the Mbh. quotation given above that S'is'upāla had attacked Dvārakā, when Kṛṣṇa was engaged in the Prāgjyotiṣa campaign. We know that S'is'upāla was killed at the end of the Rājasūya at Indraprastha. Hari. 11. 63. 39 and Bhāgavata x. 59. 3, tell that Kṛṣṇa started for the Prāgjyotiṣa campaign with his wife Satyabhāmā. This shows that the marriage of Satyabhāmā had taken place. We know that Rukmiṇī was married first, then Jambūvatī and then Satyabhāmā. Hari. 11. 92, tells that the As'vamedha sacrifice of Vāsudeva took place after Narakāśura incident. Sabhā. 45. 8, tells that S'is'upāla had captured the horse and thus obstructed the Yajña of his maternal uncle. Garga. Viś'va. Ch.25, tells that Pradyumna (a son of Rukmiṇī) had gone to Prāgjyotiṣa to demand money from Nala, a son of Bhaumāśura, for the sacrifice of his grand-father. He was ready to give money, but Dvidida Vānara who was at the gate, put forth some opposition but he was defeated and he fled away.

Thus we can say with certainty that Narakāśura incident took place after the marriage of Satyabhāmā and before the As'vamedha of Vasudeva. At the end of this article we shall determine the age of Kṛṣṇa on the day of Kuru war. Then counting backwards the age of Kṛṣṇa in the Narakāśura incident can be easily surmised. Now we shall try to locate geographically the site of the Prāgjyotiṣa town. We are not concerned with the extent of the Prāgjyotiṣa territory over which Naraka ruled, but the town where he was killed. The town is indicated by the addition of the word Purī. For instance when the word Dvārakā is used it means a territory under the control of Kṛṣṇa. When Kṛṣṇa was in Mathurā, he was called Mathurādhīś'a. The meaning of Mathurā is in this case not a city but a territory.

To locate the town we must first locate the territory in which the town existed. We know from the map that the Dist. Kāmarūpa roughly coincides with the Prāgjyotiṣa territory at present, and Gohatti is the Prāgjyotiṣa town. Naraka is supposed by all scholars to be from Assam. We shall locate the town later but let us try to secure evidence to locate the territory. Bhāgavata XI. 67, tells, "Dvidida Vānara was a friend of Naraka. To avenge the death of his friend, he started devastating that part of the Ānarta country, where Kṛṣṇa lived. He came to the Raivataka hills where Balarāma was enjoying with his wife. Balarāma ultimately killed him in the fight." We have already seen how Pradyumna had defeated Dvidida at Prāgjyotiṣa town, and he had fled. These references show clearly that the town must be in the Ānarta country (Kathiawad) and not far from the Raivataka hills. A single-handed person cannot run from Assam to the Raivataka hills to avenge the death of his friend. Kṛṣṇa had gone to the eastern side upto the Girivraja town in the Magadha territory of Jarāsandha. But this event occurred when Kṛṣṇa went to Rājasūya. I have already proved that the Narakāsura incident occurred before the Rājasūya.

The details of the way in which Kṛṣṇa started and completed the Naraka campaign are given in Hari. 11. 63, and Bhāgavata x. 59. Kṛṣṇa was in his Dvārakā. (I have proved in a separate article published in the previous issue of the *Bhāratīya Vidyā* that this was not the modern Dvārakā near port Okha, but it was 20 miles east of Prabhāsa and two miles from the Kodinar railway station, on the coast). While he was sitting in the Sudharmasabhā Hall, he received complaints, that Naraka had captured a 14 years daughter of a carpenter. The name of the girl was Kas'eru. He then had openly declared that thenceforth his people would capture any girl whatsoever. He had captured 14121 girls. They were in charge of Mura of the Alaca country. Bhauma had prepared the rooms for their accomodation in the Maṇiparvata. Mura had 10 girls and they were supervising over these girls. Mura, Nisunda, Hayagrīva and Pañcanada were the dvārapālas.

Kṛṣṇa started with his army to kill this demon of Prāgjyotiṣa. He took Satyabhāmā with him in this campaign. (The reason was that Satyabhāmā belonged to the Alaca territory. Her father Satrājīt was a small chieftain in a town called Satrāpura, in the Alaca hill territory). Kṛṣṇa first attacked Mura. After killing him he passed on some hilly tract, and saw Nisunda ready for fight. After killing him he came across Hayagrīva, who was also killed. Then Kṛṣṇa found out Pañcanada at Udaka in the Lohitagaṅgā country, and he killed him there. From there he went to Prāgjyotiṣapura. After a hard fight Naraka was killed. Bhūmi, the mother of Naraka gave Kṛṣṇa the Kuṇḍalas which Naraka had snatched away from some noble woman Aditi. The girls were released and some of the wealth which was amassed by Naraka was carried to Dvārakā.

In April 1947, I had the honour of travelling as a state guest in the Nawanager State. Before I went to Jamnagar, I had not the least idea that I would be able to identify Prāgjyotiṣa with its surroundings. I had gone there to find out the port where Kṛṣṇa had killed Śālva in a naval battle. I had

guessed that it must be somewhere on the northern coast of Kathiawad. I could prove that Salaya was the port where the naval battle took place. About Prāgjyotiṣapura I was sure that it was somewhere in Kathiawad, and not in Assam. Mr. Mankad, Curator of the Jamnagar Museum casually remarked that the Gopa village on the Vartu river, near the Gopa hill was called Prāgjyotiṣapura. I immediately went to see the place in a state car. People told me that Narakāsura was killed there and Kṛṣṇa had taken a bath in the Vartu river. The place was named as Prāgjyotiṣa first. It was changed to Gopa afterwards. If Naraka was killed there, the Alaca and the Maṇi-parvata of Mura must be somewhere nearby. The Allech hills, which are only 10 miles from the Gopa hill coincided with the Alaca region. The word Maṇi in the Maṇiparavata means quartz. Mr. Mankad told me the state had given contract to quarry quartz to test it for its gold contents.

I visited the place and to my surprise I could locate the Uda place in the Lohita area, where Pañcanada was killed. Even the Vartu river is mentioned in Hari. II.58 as Āvarta and Kṛṣṇa had taken a bath in it. Thus it will be seen that Prāgjyotiṣa can be identified without ambiguity.

Now we shall turn to Bhagadatta, a prominent son of Naraka. The case of Nala I have already discussed in connection with Pradyumna. Hari. II. 83. 1-5, tell, "A Brahmin living in S'atpura, of the Vājasaneyi S'ākhā, and a disciple of Yājñavalkya had taken Dikṣā to perform As'vamedha for Vasudeva for a period of one year, on the sacred banks of the Avartu river. Nikumbha and other Asuras who were living in S'atpura tried to obstruct the sacrifice. Pāṇḍavas had come. They were helping Kṛṣṇa. But Bhagadatta, S'is'upāla, Duryodhana and others ranged on the side of Nikumbha to create mischief. Bharata II. 45. 8, testifies that S'is'upāla had obstructed the Yajña of Vasudeva.

Sabhā. 26. 7-9, tell that Arjuna went for Digvijaya first to Bhagadatta of Prāgjyotiṣa, conquered him and other chieftains on the sea coast, and then turned, northwards. The reason for attacking him is clear, because he had obstructed the As'vamedha of Vasudeva. Bhagadatta and other chieftains on the sea coast were present at the Rājasūya sacrifice. (Sabhā. 34. 10).

Sabhā. 14. 14-15, tell that Bhagadatta is the ruler of the Mura and Naraka areas. It is interesting to note that Skanda 1. 2. 59-60, give the following account of the relation of Ghaṭotkaca with Prāgjyotiṣa and Bhagadatta. Hiḍimbā once sent Ghaṭotkaca to the Pāṇḍavas so that he should do some work for them. Yudhiṣṭhira settled to have him married. Kṛṣṇa told him that Kāmakaṇṭakā, the daughter of Muru was with Bhagadatta at Prāgjyotiṣapura, and she had announced that she would marry that person who would win her in both the intellectual as well as physical duel. Ghaṭotkaca won her and the marriage took place at Indraprastha.

In the Kuru war Bhagadatta was on the side of Duryodhana. Droṇa. 28-29 and Karṇa. 5. 15-16, describe how Bhagadatta was killed by Arjuna. Here ends the story of Bhagadatta. His presence in the As'vamedha of Vasudeva near Sakhpur in Kathiawad, and his defeat by Arjuna in his Northern Digvijaya tour show that Bhagadatta was never in Assam, as is assumed by Mr. Bhattasali,

Finally we come to Vajradatta, a son of Bhagadatta. As'vamedha. 74-77, tell that the horse went to Trigarta first, from there it went to Prāgjyotiṣa. Vajradatta who was young, fought with Arjuna. He ultimately admitted defeat and accepted the invitation to attend the As'vamedha which was to take place in Caitra. As'va. 75 (Kumbha) tells that Vajradatta then became the king of Kāmarūpa. From Prāgjyotiṣa, the horse went to the Sidhu country. This shows that the horse could not have gone to Assam in its westward wandering.

When Vajradatta went to Assam and established his kingdom there due to his valour, it is but natural that he would have named the country as Prāgjyotiṣa in memory of his association with it, and thus the Prāgjyotiṣa which was in the west was transferred to the east.

A copper plate of 600 A. D. is found in Assam. It is described in Epi. Indica, 1913-14, pages 65-79.

- धात्रीं उच्चिक्षिप्तोः अंबुनिधेः कपटकोलरूपस्य । चक्रभृतः सत्तुरभूत् पार्थिववृंदारको नरकः ॥ ४ ॥
 तस्मात् अदृष्टनरकात् नरकादजनिष्ट नृपतिरिंद्रसखः । भगदत्तः ख्यातजयं विजयं युधि यः समान्दहत ॥ ५ ॥
 • तस्याख्यजः क्षतारेः वज्रगतिः वज्रदत्तनामाभूत् । शतमखमखण्डबलगतितोषयत् यः सदा संख्ये ॥ ६ ॥
 वंश्येषु तस्य नृपतिषु वर्षसहस्रत्रयं पदमवाप्य । यातेषु देवभूयं क्षितीश्वरः पुण्यवर्माभूत् ॥ ७ ॥

It gives the names of the forefathers of Vajradatta. Here we get the name of the father of Naraka. In Mbh. we get the name of the mother of Naraka. The reference to the sea in the case of Naraka is worth noting. The fight of Bhagadatta with Vijaya (Arjuna) is mentioned, but he is not called a king of Assam. From Vajradatta, the copperplate says, to Pusyavarman 3000 years intervened in an unbroken chain. Between Pusyavarman and Bhāskaravarman 12 kings are given. We know that Bhāskaravarman was living when Hieuen Tsang visited Kāmarūpa in 640 A. D. If 20 years is taken as an average of one genealogy, the 12 generations upto Pusyavarman would mean 240 years. Thus we can take Pusyavarman to be in 400 A. D. But upto Vajradatta 3000 years intervened. Hence Vajradatta must be in 2600 B. C.

Mr. Bhattasali himself admits that the genealogies in Assam are preserved intact because the ruling families are intact. We know that the Purāṇas were written in the 2nd century A. D., after the Buddhistic influence faded away and the Brahmanism was revived. Therefore, the genealogies given in the Purāṇas cannot be supposed to be unbroken. The interval between Parikṣit and Nanda is given in the Purāṇas to be 1015. On page 246, Mr. Bhattasali puts Parikṣit's birth at 1428 B. C. We know that Vajradatta was young in the As'vamedha period and his age can be taken to be 20. But the unbroken genealogy of Assam puts Vajradatta in 2600., which means a difference of 1200 years. This proves clearly the unreliability of the Paurāṇic genealogical tables. Modern scholars rely too much on them to determine the date of the Kuru war. Even an unbroken genealogical table containing 150 or more kings cannot be used to work out quantitative results like the exact year of the Kuru war. They can be used to check large errors.

For instance, Megasthenese tells that between Heracles and Sandroketus 136 generations intervened. Candragupta was, in 300 B. C. Taking 20 years

as the generation average we get 3000 B. C. for Kṛṣṇa. For Vajradatta we get from the Assam chronology the result 2600. Thus, as qualitative results they are in agreement and indicate that the genealogy given by Megasthenese is correct, and the Paurāṇic genealogies must have big gaps in them. As I have already remarked, these generation averages cannot be utilized for accurate year determination. In 150 generations the error would amount to 300 years. To find the exact year of the war it is necessary to bring in astronomical references at the time of war. We know that a solar eclipse had taken place on Ās'vina Amāvāsyā and 13 days later the lunar eclipse had taken place on Kārttika fullmoon. A comet also was observed by the end of the Ās'vina month. Thus the problem is to find out the year between 2600 and 3000 which satisfied these conditions simultaneously. I have worked out this problem and 3018 B. C. is the required year.

Now let us see if we are able to determine the age of Kṛṣṇa at the time of the Kuru war. Before taking this problem let us relate the age of Kṛṣṇa with that of the Pāṇḍavas. Mbh. I. 126-127 tell that the five brothers were like five consecutive years. It means that their ages differed by one year. Yudhiṣṭhira was the oldest, Bhīma was junior to him by one year, and Arjuna was junior to Bhīma by one year. Nakula and Sahadeva were twins of Mādrī. Whenever Kṛṣṇa came to the Pāṇḍavas, he bowed down to Yudhiṣṭhira and Bhīma, and embraced Arjuna, while Nakula and Sahadeva bowed down to Kṛṣṇa. This shows that Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa were of the same age. Mbh. I 134 (Kumbhakonum) tells that Kṛṣṇa was senior to Arjuna by three months. Thus if we know the age of Arjuna during the war, the age of Kṛṣṇa becomes known.

Droṇa*. 125. 73 tells that Droṇa was 85 at the time of war. Assuming Arjuna to be junior to Droṇa by about 15 years, we get the age of Arjuna to be 70. This can be verified in another way. Virāṭa. 43. 6 tells that Arjuna was wielding a bow for 65 years. We know that Arjuna began his bow practice when he was a bāla i. e. when he was about six, which means that the age of Arjuna at the time of the Kuru war was 70-71. Rājasūya sacrifice took place some 15-16 years before the Kuru war. Thus the age of Kṛṣṇa at the Rājasūya was about 55.

* It is interesting to note that Nilakanṭha translates 'As'iti-pañcakāḥ to mean 400, even though he himself cites 'As'itikaparaḥ' as a variant reading, which can only mean more than 80, and thus suggest that 85 is the correct translation. The correctness of 85 can be verified as follows. Adi. 130. 41 tells that Droṇa and Drupada were of the same age. Droṇa had married a sister of Kṛpā, who was the tutor of Dhanurveda to the Pāṇḍava 'Kumāras', before Droṇa took the charge. As'vatthāman, the son of Droṇa must be of the same age as that of the Pāṇḍavas, because Droṇa had gone to Drupada to request him as a friend to remove his poverty, as he could not afford to give milk to As'vatthāman and he was cheating the child by giving him water whitened with flour. Drupada flatly refused to recognize friendship in childhood. Enraged by this insult he came over to Kṛpā, his brother-in-law, who was teaching the Pāṇḍava boys. Later, Bhīṣma appointed him as a teacher of the boys after the famous incident of lifting up the play stick, which had fallen in a deep dry well, by Droṇa.

We further know that Draupadi was married to Arjuna when her age was 17-18. If Droṇa is 400, Drupada also would be 400, and would thus lead to unnecessary anomalies. Thus the age of Droṇa was 85, and the age of Drupada must also be the same.

FIRST SUPPLEMENT TO VES'YĀ; SYNONYMS AND APHORISMS

By Prof. Dr. Ludwik Sternbach

In my "Veśyā; Synonyms and Aphorisms" published in 'Bhāratiya Vidyā' Vol. IV, Part I and II and in 'Bhāratiya Vidyā Miscellany', 1945 I quoted two hundred thirtyfive synonyms for the word "prostitute", six for the word "prostitution", seven for the word "multitude of prostitutes", five for the word "guardian of prostitutes", seven for the word "prostitutes' salary", seven for the word "lover of prostitutes" twentyfour for the word "brothel", thirty for the word "procuress", and quoted approximately one hundred aphorisms connected with venal love.

I pointed out in the preface that I neither exhausted all the synonyms of the word *veśyā*, nor quoted all the aphorisms relating to venal love.

More than one year has passed since my paper on "Veśyā..." appeared and during which I continued my studies on subjects not related to *kāma* and lexicography. However, I kept my publication on *veśyā* in mind and my further research revealed additional twenty-three synonyms for the word "prostitute", three for the word "prostitutes' salary", one for the word "brothel" and five for the word "procuress", hence, I believe, it is appropriate to present this paper.

In the present paper the same writing-symbols are employed, in particular, the asterisks¹. In the second part, regarding aphorisms, I shall quote them according to their sense. In this paper I try rather to give a nice English translation of the aphorisms, than a literary one, as I tried to give in the first part of my "Veśyā...".

I must also apologize for many mistakes, in particular, printing errors in the first part of my "Veśyā...". Because of many Sanskrit and foreign words in the text it was very difficult to make proper corrections and many mistakes have been overlooked.

1 The first figure shows where the word should be inserted, and the second in brackets () the ordinal number of the aphorisms.

I. Additional Synonyms of The Word "Prostitute"

- **1a and 1b. (236,237). ATIṢKADAVARĪ-*ati*° (over)+from °*skand* (to leap).

Leaping over, a procuress of abortion, a courtesan.

I met the word *atiṣkadavarī* in the meaning of a courtesan in *Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā* (ed. by A. WEBER, Berlin-London, 1852) (30,14). Identically APASKADVARI in *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (III-4,11,1). See "Vedic Index" by MACDONELL and KEITH (London 1912), (Vol.I. p.481).

- **1c. (238). ATĪTVARĪ-*ati*° (over)+from °*i*° (to walk).

Walking over, a walker, a courtesan.

I met the word *atītvārī* in the meaning of a courtesan in *Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā* (ed. by A. WEBER, Berlin-London 1852) (30,14). See "Vedic Index" by MACDONELL and KEITH (London 1912) (Vol. I. p. 481).

- *92a. (239). NĀKĀDHIPĀ-nāka° (heaven)+°*adhīpa* (ruler).

A courtesan of Indra, an *Apsaras*.

I met this word in the sense of an *Apsaras* in *Naiṣadha-carita*.

- *92b. (240). NĀKANĀRĪ-nāka° (heaven)+°*nārī* (female, woman).

A heavenly woman, an *Apsaras*.

I met this word in the sense of an *Apsaras* in Kath.

- *92c. (241). NĀKAPURĀMDHRĪ-nāka° (heaven)+°*purāmdhrī* (married woman)

A heavenly married woman, an *Apsaras*

I met this word in the sense of an *Apsaras* in *Bālarā-māyaṇa*.

- *92d (242). NĀKAVANITĀ-nāka° (heaven)+°*vanitā* (sweetheart).

A heavenly girl, an *Apsaras*.

I met this word in the sense of an *Apsaras* in Hem.

- *92e. (243). NĀKASTRĪ-nāka° (heaven)+°*strī* (woman).

A heavenly woman, an *Apsaras*.

I met this word in the meaning of an *Apsaras* in Kath.

- **93a. (244). NṚTŪ—from *nart* (to dance).

A dancer, a courtesan.

I met this word in the meaning of a courtesan in Rv. (I-92-4) :

"She like a dancer (*nṛtū*) puts her broidered garments on.....".

**113a. (245). PRAUDHĀṄGANĀ-*praudha*° (impudent) °*aṅganā* (woman).

An impudent woman, a prostitute.

I met this word in the meaning of a prostitute in Bhartṛ. (III-33). However, it should be noted that this word could also mean in this text an impudent woman, not necessarily a prostitute.

**138a. (246). RAJAYITRĪ—from *raj* (to dye).

A dyeing woman, a woman dedicated to sensuality, a prostitute.

I met this word in the meaning of a prostitute in *Vāja-saneyi-Saṁhitā* (ed. by A. WEBER Berlin-London, 1852) (30, 12). See also *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (III-4, 7 1).

195a. (247). VES'YĀKĀMINĪ-*veśyā* °(prostitute)+°*kāminī* (loving woman).

A loving prostitute, a prostitute.

I met this word in the meaning of a prostitute in *Varāhamihira's Brhat-Saṁhitā*.

211a. (248). SĀDHĀRAṆAŚRĪ-*sādhāraṇa*°(common)+°*śrī* (connected with).

A common woman, a harlot.

Probably it is the misspelt word *sādhāraṇastrī*. I met this word spelt in this way, in the sense of a prostitute in *Daśarūpa* of DHANAÑJAYA (ed. by C. O. HAAS, New York, 1912) p. 48.

II. Other Additional Synonyms

APPENDIX IV :

5a. (8). VES'YĀPAṆA-*veśyā* °(prostitute)+°*paṇa* (money, salary). Prostitutes' salary.

I met this word in the meaning of salary of a prostitute in Mrcch.

*7a. (9, 10). ŚULKA.

Price, value, prostitute's salary.

I met this word in the meaning of a prostitute's salary in Kath. and *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa*.

ASAHĀYA (*ad Nārada-Smṛti*—Intr. 20/25) in the division of eighteen titles of law and subdivision of "Non-payment of wages" mentions in the fourth point PAṆYA-STRĪSULKA i. e. prostitutes' salary. [*Panyastrī*° (prostitute) + °śulka (salary)]

APPENDIX VI:

21a. (25). VEŚYĀVASA-*veśyā*° (prostitute) + °vasa (dwelling place).

Brothel.

I met this word in the sense of a brothel in Raj. Tar.

APPENDIX VII:

18a. (31). MASOPAVĀSINĪ-*masa*° (moon) + °*upavāsini* (from °vas°-to wear).

A woman wearing clothes during the night, a lascivious woman, a procuress.

I met this word in the meaning of a procuress in *S'uka-saptati* in LASSEN's Anthology, p.43.

24a. (32). VEŚYĀGĀMIN-*veśyā*° (prostitute) + °*gāmin* (a man having sexual intercourse, attaining).

He who is attaining prostitutes, a pimp.

This word is quoted in the meaning of a pimp in Sir MONIER MONIER-WILLIAM'S A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Oxford 1899.

24b. (33). VEŚYĀGHAṬAKA-*veśyā*° (prostitute) + °*ghaṭaka* (from °ghaṭ°-to procure).

A man who procures prostitutes, a pimp.

This word is quoted in the meaning of a pimp in Sir MONIER MONIER-WILLIAM'S A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Oxford 1899.

24c. (34). VEŚYĀCĀRYA-*veśyā*° (prostitute) + °*cārya* (from °car°-to go, to cause to copulate).

A man who causes prostitutes to copulate, a pimp.

I met this word in the meaning of a pimp in Hem. See also in Sir MONIER MONIER-WILLIAM'S A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Oxford 1899.

31a (35). STRĪVYAVAHĀRIN-*stri*² (woman) + *vyavahārin* (transacting, dealing with, practising business).

A man who practises business with woman, a pimp.

I met this word in the meaning of a pimp in K. (125/9, 10).¹

III. Additional Aphorisms

None of these additional synonyms describes any positive characteristic of courtezans. For instance in MBh. it is stated that her praise brings death. We read there:

“He who is praised by a gambler, a wandering actor, or a prostitute, will not remain alive”.²

Prostitutes' (*praudhāṅganā*) temptations threaten everybody's peace of mind, states Bhar^o in one of the most profound, aphorisms:

1 एतेन नटनर्तकगायकवादकवाग्जीवनकुशीलवप्लवकसौमिकचारणानां स्त्रीव्यवहारिणां स्त्रियो गूढाजीवाश्च व्याख्याताः । K. (125/9-10).

This para is a part of book II. *adhy.* 27, *prak.* 44 of K. entitled गणिकाऽध्यक्षः and dealing with prostitutes, their rights, and duties, etc. In this connection it must be added that all the “husbands” who were actors (*nata*), dancers (*nartaka*), singers (*gāyaka*), wandering actors, or singers (*cārana*), musicians (*vādaka*), buffoons (*vāḡjīvana*), rope-dancers (*plavaka*), mimic players (*kuśīlava*) and jugglers (*saubhika*) must be considered as pimps as they live on the intrigues of their wives. This is evident from *Mānava-Dharmaśāstra* (VIII-362) where we read:

नेप चारणदारेषु विधिर्नात्मोपजीविषु ।

सज्जयन्ति हि ते नारीर्निगूढाश्चारयन्ति च ॥

and Medhā's commentary on Man. (VIII-362) अथवा स्वा नारीः ‘सज्जयन्ति योजयन्ति अन्याश्च स्वस्त्रीभिश्चारयन्ति’ प्रवर्तयन्ति वेद्यात्वं कुट्टनीत्वं च स्वदाराणां कारयन्तीत्यर्थः । the more so as चारणा नटगायनाद्याः प्रेक्षकाणिः ।

Kām. (262/2-7) states:

अयल्लासाध्या योषितस्त्रिमाः—.....कुशीलवभार्या.....

Jayamaṅgalā commentary states it clearly that the wives of mimic players are prostitutes. We read there:

नटनर्तकादीनां भार्या वेद्याप्रायाः । (Kām. 263/5)

We have also seen before that a *naṭi*, *cāravānikā*, or a female dancer were prostitutes.

2 यं प्रशंसन्ति कित्वा यं प्रशंसन्ति चरणाः ।

यं प्रशंसन्ति बन्धक्यो न स जीवति मानवः ॥

MBh. (V-1442b-1443a) also quoted in I. S. No. 4838.

"Birth is menaced by death, beautiful youth is threatened by senility, contentment through pursuit of wealth, peace of mind is endangered by the lustful temptations of prostitutes, virtues are prey to jealousies, forest-retreats are harassed by wild beasts, kings are burdened by evil men, and vigour as well as magnificency may decline with time; what is safe from destruction?—and what does not bring destruction?"¹

Therefore, a prostitute should be shunned, states Vikram. in the following words:

"Gambling, eating of meat, drinking of intoxicating beverages, prostitutes (*veśyā*), hunting, theft, another's wife, these evils, these heavy sins, should be avoided by sages".²

She should be avoided not only by men, but even by women because association with them ruins the woman's character, is stated in Hit.:

"Unrestrained liberty, residence in the father's house (after the consummation of marriage), meeting with persons on occasion of festive gatherings, a loose living in the vicinity of men, meeting in a company, dwelling in a foreign country, association with women of bad character (prostitutes), constant violation of one's proper conduct, the old age of the husband or his jealousy or his absence in a foreign land—these are the causes of the ruin of a woman's character".³

The prostitutes, states Pañc., in a similar aphorism already quoted,⁴ are enemies of woman of good family:

- 1 आक्रान्तं मरणेन जन्म जरया यात्युत्तमं यौवनं
संतो बोधनलिप्तया शममुखं प्रौढाङ्गनाविभ्रमैः ।
लोकैर्मत्सरिभिर्गुणा वनभुवो व्यालैर्नृपा दुर्जनै-
रस्थैर्येण विभूतयोऽप्युपहृता अस्तं न किं केन वा ॥

Bhartr. (III-33) also quoted in I. S. No. 311.

- 2 द्यूतं मांसं सुरा वेद्याखेटनैर्यपराङ्मनाः ।
महापापानि सतैव व्यसनानि त्यजेद्भुजः ॥

Vikram. (267), as quoted in I. S. No. 1262.

Hit. (I-5, 114) according to M. R. KALE's edition and translation.

- 3 स्वातन्त्र्यं पितृमन्दिरे निवसति यात्रोत्सवे संगति-
गोष्ठीपूरुषसंनिभावनियमो वासो विदेशे तथा ।
संसर्गः सह पुंश्चलीभिरसकृद् वृत्ते निजायाः क्षतिः
पत्युर्वार्धकमीषितं प्रवसनं नाशस्य हेतुः स्त्रियाः ॥

- 4 In "Supplement to Bhāratīya Vidyā Miscellany", 1945 (p. 10)—*Vṛddha-cāṇakya*.

“A learned man is hated (is counted as enemy) by the stupid, as the rich man by the poor; a godless one by the pious man, and an unchaste woman (*asatī*) by a woman of good family”.¹

They (*veśyā*) are ruthless and even ignore the sufferings of others, states *Vṛddhacāṇakya* in the following words:²

“A king, prostitute, Yama, fire, robber, child, beggar, or village-mayor, none of these eight notice anguish of neighbours”.³

Prostitutes, being bad creatures, endeavour to present themselves in a better light by pretending to be ashamed. That is evident from an aphorism in *Pañc.*, thus:

“An unchaste woman seems ashamed, salt-water seems cool, a hypocrite seems sincere (wise), and a flatterer seems truthful (speaks nicely)”.⁴

However, in reality, they cannot be modest, because modesty would ruin them, it is said in *Hit.*⁵:

“*Brāhmaṇas* are ruined when discontented, and kings when contented, a harlot full of modesty is ruined and so are ladies of family, if without modesty”.⁶

Some women, like prostitutes, do not care for others but for their own pleasures, we read in the *Pañc.*:

“The wench cares not

A straw to miss

1 मूर्खाणां पण्डिता द्वेष्या निर्धनानां महाधनः ।

व्रतिनः पापशीलानामसतीनां कुलस्त्रियः ॥

Pañc. ed. by BUEHLER and KIELHORN in “Bombay Sanskrit Series”, Bombay (I-21, 416).

2 This aphorism was already quoted by me, but without quoting the text.

See “Supplement to *Bhāratīya Vidyā Miscellany*”, 1945 (p. 13).

3 राजा वेश्या यमश्चाग्निस्तस्करो बालयाचकौ ।

परदुःखानि न जानन्ति अष्टमो ग्रामकण्टकः ॥

Vṛddhacāṇakya (XVII-19) also quoted in I. S. No. 4941.

4 असती भवति सलज्जा क्षारं नीरं च शीतलं भवति ।

दम्भो भवति विवेकी प्रियवक्ता भवति धूर्तजनः ॥

Pañc. ed. by BUEHLER and KIELHORN in “Bombay Sanskrit Series”, Bombay (I-22, 418).

5 And other sources. This is a similar aphorism to that quoted in my “*Veśyā...*” in “*Supplement to Bhāratīya Vidyā Miscellany*”, 1945 (p. 2).

6 असंतुष्टा द्विजा नष्टाः संतुष्टाश्च महीभुजः ।

सलज्जा गणिका नष्टा निर्लज्जाश्च कुलस्त्रियः ॥

Hit. (III-7, 64) according to M. K. KALE's edition and translation.

The covered couch,
 The husband's kiss,
 The pleasant bed ;
 In place of this
 She ever seeks
 A stolen bliss.
 For stranger men
 The slut will see
 The ruin of
 Her family,
 The world's reproach,
 The jailer's key-
 Will risk a death
 She cannot flee".¹

Corresponding to the latter is also the aphorism taken from Hit., where we read:

"There is no one who is disagreeable to women, nor one who is beloved by them ; but they ever long for a new one, like cows seeking fresh grass in a forest".²

Prostitutes are not only immodest, but like Kings knowingly commit sins.

This is evident from a long aphorism quoted in Raj. Tar. in which *inter alia* it is said :

"To themselves, both prostitutes and kings say : it is a sin to even harbour thoughts on 'that,'-and they commit 'that'!.....".³

- 1 पर्यङ्क्वास्तरणं पतिमनुकूलं मनोहरं शयनम् ।
 तृणमिव लघु मन्यन्ते कामिन्यश्चौर्यैरतलुब्धाः ॥
 कुलपतनं जनगर्हो बन्धनमपि जीवितव्यसंदेहम् ।
 अक्लीकरोति कुलया सततं परपुरुषसंसक्ता ॥

Pañc. in the Pañcākhyānaka recension of Pūrṇabhadra, ed. J. HERTEL in "Harvard Oriental Series", Vol. XI. (I-4, 135).

Translation by A. W. RYDER.

- 2 न स्त्रीणामप्रियः कश्चित्प्रियो वापि न विद्यते ।
 गावस्तृणमिवारण्ये प्रार्थयन्ति नवं नवम् ॥

Hit. (IV-3, 7) according to M. R. Kale's edition and translation.

- 3 कुर्मः किल्बिषमेतदेव हृदये हृत्वेति कौतूहलात्
 स्वेरिण्यः क्षितिपाश्च धिक् चपलतः कौर्यं च कुर्युः सुहृत् ।
 पापाक्रान्तधियो भवन्त्यथ यथा नान्त्यान्पृश्नन्त्योऽपि ता
 दूयन्ते न च ते यथा स्वपितरौ मृन्तोऽपि शान्तव्रथाः ॥

Raj. Tar. (IV-626 sqq).

Another example of a comparison between a prostitute (*vāravilāsini*) and a king (state-policy), is made in Hit. where we read :

“May peace be over for the delight of all victorious kings ; may the good be free from calamities ; may the glory of the virtuous ever increase ; may state-policy, like a harlot, abiding in the minds of ministers, ever kiss their mouths ; and may there be great rejoicing among people day by day !”¹

× × ×

In the first part of my “Veśyā...” I have already quoted many aphorisms showing that prostitutes are not attached to any particular man and make love to men for the purpose of getting money. Some further aphorisms on this subject may be quoted from *Sārṅgadharā's Padhlhātī* that prostitutes abandon a man without money. We read :

“Birds fly from a fruitless tree, gulls (?) desert an arid lake, bees leave a withered flower, gazelles depart from a burnt forest, prostitutes abandon a man without money, ministers renounce a fallen king. Everybody feels the attraction of something (because of) something ; who then is intrinsically dear to another ?”²

and again

“Prostitutes abandon a man who has no more money, people the fallen sovereign, birds a fruitless tree, and guests the house after repast”³

This is the more understandable as even wives abandon their husbands deprived of wealth, as it is stated in a beautiful aphorism from Hit. :

1 संधिः सर्वमहीभुजो विजयिनामस्तु प्रमोदः सदा सन्तः सन्तु निरापदः सुकृतिनः कीर्तिश्चिरं वर्धताम् ।
नीतिर्वारविलासिनीव सततं वक्षःस्थले संस्थिता वक्रं चुम्बतु मन्त्रिणामहरहर्भूयान्महानुत्सवः ॥
Hit. (IV-12, 139) according to M. R. KALE's edition and translation.

2 वृक्षं क्षीणफलं त्यजन्ति विहगाः शुष्कं सरः सारसाः पुष्पं पर्युषितं त्यजन्ति मधुषा दग्धं वनान्तं गृगाः ।
निर्द्रव्यं पुरुषं त्यजन्ति गणिकाः भ्रष्टं नृपं मन्त्रिणः सर्वैः कार्यवशाज्जनोऽभिरमते कस्यास्ति को बल्लभः ॥
Also quoted in *Saptaratna* (4), *Vānaryastaka* (8) and cited in I. S. No. 2883.

3 निर्धनं पुरुषं वेद्या प्रजा भक्षं नृपं त्यजेत् ।

खगा बीतफलं वृक्षं भुक्त्वा चाभ्यागता गृहं ॥

Vṛddhacānakya (II-17) also quoted in I. S. No. 4875, already mentioned in “Supplement to Bhāratīya Vidyā Miscellany”, 1945 (p. 8).

“A man does not attain a position of being served by reason of other family-observances; a man without wealth is abandoned even by his wife; how much more then by others?”¹

The prostitutes take advantage of the present and of the future and make love to men for the sole reason of getting money states Pañc. in the Tantrākhyāyikā version, where we read:

“They take advantage of the present and of the future in obtaining as many presents as possible from their clients by making love to them, and prostitutes do so for the sole reason of getting money, because as desire awakens from tipsiness, and love awakens with desire, and senses awaken with eating, still all are ruled by money. With quest of money, regardless of manner, all business ensues, like nectar (honey) from stamens.”²

Prostitutes for the purpose of getting lovers and money dress themselves nicely, states Hit. in the following words:

“Fools, like harlots, for the sake of pelf, deck their persons again and again, and make themselves subservient to others.”³

Prostitutes gain money day by day as long as they are young and should have intercourse with many many men and not with one only, the procuress Mohanī advises her daughter—the prostitute Dohanī, in Pañc. in the Tantrākhyāyikā version, saying:

“Why my daughter, do you waste your youth embracing one man only? To prostitutes suit amorous sport with many men. There is one man leaving, as another, enters, whilst the third

- 1 किं चान्यैर्न कुलाचारैः सेव्यतामेति पूरुषः ।
धनहीनः स्वपत्न्यापि त्यज्यते किं पुनः परैः ॥

Hit. (II- 4, 92) according to M. R. KALE's edition and translation.

- 2 ताः खलु कामिभिर्यथेष्टवितरणेन सुरततर्पणेन च वर्तमानभविष्यतोः कालयोः सफलतां कुर्वन्तितराम्
वेद्यानां धनार्जनमेव हि पुरुषार्थः । यतः ।
मदादिव महासौख्यं सुखादिव मनोभवः ।
अश्नादिन्द्रियाणीव सर्वमर्थात्प्रवर्तते ॥
अर्थेभ्यो हि प्रवृत्तेभ्यः संभृतेभ्यो यतस्ततः ।
क्रियाः सर्वाः प्रवर्तन्ते केसरेभ्यो यथा मधु ॥

Pañc. in the Tantrākhyāyikā recension, ed. by J. HERTEL in “The Harvard Oriental Series”, Vol. XIV, Appendix I. (p. 136/11-17), partly already mentioned by me without quoting the text.

- 3 अबुधैरर्थलाभाय पण्यस्त्रीभिरेव स्वयम् ।
आत्मा संस्कृत्य संस्कृत्य परोपकरणीकृतः ॥

Hit. (II-24) according to M. R. KALE's edition and translation

awaits at the door. Therefore prostitutes prosper day by day as long as youth remains.”¹

Because, the procuress continues, such a prostitute will be derided by other prostitutes:

“But you, attached to one man only, are ridiculed by others (*scil*, prostitutes) who pride themselves upon having intercourse with many men.”²

It is proverbial that a prostitute is taken by whosoever wants her and pays for it, and that she gives pleasure for a short time only.³

We read in *Vṛddhacāṇakya*:

“Of what use is wealth, which like a wife belongs to one only, and which cannot be used, as a prostitute is used, by passers-by.”⁴

However, a courageous person appropriates her, it is stated in *Pañc.*:

“A timid person⁵ pays homage to fortune in thoughts only, as one would contemplate an aloof woman. However, a brave person (pays homage to fortune) as he appropriates a prostitute, with courage as in battle.”⁵

1 पुत्रि किमेतत् यदेकमेवालङ्घ्य यौवनं विफलीकरोपि । वेद्यानामनेकैः सह रमणक्रीडोचिता ।
निर्यालिको विशल्यन्यः परो द्वारि प्रतीक्षते ॥

इति । अनेन यावद्यौवनम् तावद्दिनानुदिनं धनार्जनं क्रियते ॥

Pañc. in the *Tantrākhyāyikā* recension, ed. by J. HERTEL in “The Harvard Oriental Series”, Vol. XIV Appedix I. (p. 136/6-9).

2 त्वां त्वयैकासक्तामन्या अनेकपुरुषसङ्गाहं कृता रहस्युपहसन्ति ॥

Pañc. in the *Tantrākhyāyikā* recension, ed. by J. HERTEL in “The Harvard Oriental Series”. Vol. XIV, Appendix I. (p. 136/10).

See *Raj. Tar.* (IV-321):

3 प्रियमनुचितं क्षमापण्यस्त्रीक्षणप्रभुरीश्वरो रमयति यतो धित्कान्भृत्यान्स्ववृत्तिसुखार्थिनः ।
नृपगपथगं पान्ति प्राणानुपेक्ष्य निजानपि प्रसभमिह ये तैः पूतेयं महात्मभिरुर्वरी ॥

4 किं तया क्रियते लक्ष्म्या या वधूरिव केवला ।
या न वेद्येव सामान्या पथिकैरुपमुज्यते ॥

Pañc. ed. by BUEHLER and KIELHORN in “Bombay Sanskrit Series”, Bombay (II-5, 134 and V-4 37) also quoted in *Vṛddhacāṇakya* (XV1-12) and in I. S. No. 1749.

5 दुर्लभा स्त्रीव चित्तेन लक्ष्मीः संसेव्यतेऽलसैः ।
पण्यस्त्रीवोद्धतैश्चैव युद्धं वीर्यधनप्रदैः ॥

Pañc. ed. by BUEHLER and KIELHORN in “Bombay Sanskrit Series” (III-3, 149), also quoted in I. S. No. 2877.

BHARTṚHARI in a beautiful aphorism puts the question forward whether prostitutes should be visited, and states:

“Esteemed persons, who have first rejected their aversions and who are personally acquainted with the gist of the matter, can tell us with full certainty whether one should visit valleys of mountains, or prostitutes smiling affectionately.”¹

As prostitutes strive for money only, they should choose a proper man, *i. e.* such a one who will spend much money for her. In the Tantrākhyāyikā version of Pañc., Mohanī, the procuress gives the following advise to her daughter Dohanī, a prostitute:

“Call to men proud of their wealth, who are pleased to displace other lovers, who have social intercourse with courtiers (*Viṭa*), who are coddled by their fathers, who spend money freely, who enjoy life, and who are amorous”.²

× × ×

Though, as we have seen above, prostitutes are usually despised, they are considered to be better than lascivious women of good family who are much worst, for :

“Better to have an empty cow-pen than a naughty ox ; better to have courtesan for wife than an immodest woman of family ; better a residence in forest than in the city of a thoughtless king ; better is the abandonment of life than approaching the base with a request”.

This is a wise opinion of Hit.³

1 मात्सर्यमुत्सार्य विचार्य कार्यमार्याः समर्यामिदं वदन्तु ।

सेव्या नितम्बाः किमु भूषणामुत सरस्मरविलासिनीनाम् ॥

Bhartṛ. (I-18) and others. Also quoted in I. S. 2177.

2 किं च यस्य धनदर्पः सपलस्पर्धा विटमेलः पितृलालित्यं त्यागित्वं रागित्वं च दृश्यते तमेव भज ।

Pañc. in the Tantrākhyāyikā recension ed. J. HERTEL in the “Harvard Oriental Series”, Vol. XIV, Appendix I. (p. 136/18-20).

3 वरं शून्या शाला न च खलु वरं दुष्टवृषभो

वरं वेद्या पत्नी न पुनरविनीता कुलवधूः ।

वरं बासोऽरण्ये न पुनरविवेकाधिपपुरे

वरं प्राणत्यागो न पुनरधमानामुपगमः ॥

Hit. (I-5, 138) according to M. R. KALE's edition and translation.

The Varuṇa Hymns in the R̥gveda*

By Dr. V. M. Apte

TRANSLATION II. 28. (1)

May this (prayer) of the wise son of Aditi, the Self-ruler, overpower by its greatness all (things) existent (*sánti*). The god who is exceedingly pleasant for worship—(of that god i. e.) of the powerful Varuṇa, (do) I crave a fine commemoration [*sukīrtīm*], (through my prayer).

NOTES II. 28. (1)

(a) What is to be supplied after *idám*? Sāyaṇa supplies “oblation” or “praise” which is quite possible; better would be *brāhman* (Av. *baresma*) “prayer” because the root in it, *brh* means “to swell, rise” and the idea of the sacred spell of prayer, swelling gradually in power so as to rise superior to all existing things suits the trends of the first hemistich eminently; cf. the words: *brhāt vadeṃa* “powerfully may we speak” in the refrain of this Maṇḍala. (d) *Kīrti* in *sukīrti* (a Karma-dhāraya cd.) is from the root *Kṛ* (*Kir* or *Kar*, acc. to Grassman) in the sense “to commemorate” and has the meanings “commemoration” “praise” (I. 60. 7) and “glory” (V. 10. 4), the first of which suits our verse. What the poet craves for, is that “fine frenzy” which will enable him to commemorate the god in a beautiful manner. Varuṇa is called *sukīrti* (a Bahuvrīhi) in I. 1-3. The root *bhikṣ* is similarly used with *nāma* (VII. 32. 17) and with (*sukīrtēna bhikṣe*) *sumatīm*. (I. 171. 1).

TRANSLATION II. 28. (2)

Under thy jurisdiction (*vratā*), may we be blessed, praising (thee, as we are), O Varuṇa, well-intentioned (*sv-ādhyāh*), at the approach of the Dawns rich in cows, (praising) like the fires singing, day after day.

NOTES II. 28. (2)

(b) I. 70. 4 in which *svādhyāh* qualifies Agni shows that the word must also mean ‘of good mind, will or intent’ in addition to meaning ‘of good devotion’ elsewhere. The antonym *dur-ā-dhāt* ‘having an evil intention’ points in the same direction. For this pāda, Geldner aptly compares I. 16. 9c. (d) *jara-māṇāh* is the present participle of *Jṛ*, which as Neisser (Bezzzenberger’s *Beitrag* XIII. 298) has shown, means not only ‘to wake up’ but also ‘to sing or praise’. The meaning ‘waking up early’ assigned to the word here by Geldner, does not suit the simile. An *upamāna* to the praising or chanting poet-priests is expected in (d) and only ‘singing or praising’ fires could be that. Now Agni is the divine counterpart of the earthly priesthood. In I. 94. 6, it is said that he combines in himself the functions of the various human priests such as the Adhvaryu, the Hotṛ, the Praśāstr, the Potr, the Purohita and that he

* The first instalment covering RV. I. 24. 6-15; 25. 1-6 was published in the Jan.-February 1947 issue of the *Bhāratiya Vidyā* and the second instalment covering RV. I. 25. 7-21 in the May-June 1947 issue.

knows the duties of every priest. The crackle of the sacred fires looked upon as the song of praise is (in the opinion of the writer), the common property (*sādhāraṇa dharma*) of the simile.

TRANSLATION II. 28. (3)

May we be, in the keeping (*s'arman*) of thee, the widely renowned one, who hast many heroes (at thy command), O Varuṇa, O Leader! Ye undecivable sons of Aditi, put up with us (*nach abhā kṣamadhvam*) for kinship, (ye) gods!

NOTES II. 28. (3)

(b) Varuṇa is addressed as the Leader, evidently as the chief of the Ādityas, who are invoked in the second hemistich. When one Āditya is mentioned, Varuṇa is generally meant, as in the next verse. (d) The number of Ādityas is once stated to be seven (IX. 114. 3) and also eight (X. 72. 8), Martāṇḍa being added to the seven. II. 27. 1 gives the names of six Ādityas: Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, Bhaga, Dakṣa and Amśa. But Sūrya is also a son of Aditi (X. 88. 11; VIII. 101. 11). Savitr is added to the first four names in VIII. 18. 3 and Indra is coupled with Varuṇa as an Āditya, once (VII. 85. 4). There is thus vagueness both as regards the names and the number of the sons of Aditi, though in post-Vedic literature they are definitely the twelve sun-gods, connected (apparently) with the twelve months, with Viṣṇu as the greatest of them all.

TRANSLATION II. 28. (4)

The Āditya, the Disposer (*vidhartā*) let them [*sīm*=Sindhus] follow; the Sindhus follow the R̥tā of Varuṇa; they tire not nor leave off; like birds, they fly fast, (so as to go) round the earth (*pārījman*).

NOTES II. 28. (4)

sīm: an enclitic particle, restricted to the R̥V, where it is used as an acc. of all numbers and genders, in the third person representing a substantive which generally precedes but sometimes follows (as here) and is usually placed between a preposition and its verb (VGS. 249). *vi-dhartā*: the propriety of this epithet is explained by one of the two cosmogonic theories (not mutually exclusive) of the R̥V, namely that which looks upon the world as the result of a mechanical production involving the twin processes of *setting up* and *setting apart* (*vi*). In VII. 86. 1, for example, Varuṇa is described as *propping apart* heaven and earth. Relevant also are the passages: IX. 107. 23 where Soma is said to have held apart (*vi dhārayah*) the Samudra, for the gods; II. 13. 7 (pointed out by Geldner): "Who (Indra) held apart the rivers" and II. 1. 3 where Agni is called *vidhartā* ('who keeps asunder all things'). (b) For the special relation of Varuṇa to R̥tā which is, as it were, his exclusive charge, see the paper of the writer 'The R̥gvedic antecedents of Varuṇa's Dharma-pāśa' (BDCRI 1944). For R̥tā see his paper "R̥tā in the R̥gveda" (Silver Jubilee Volume of the ABORI) where he has shown that along with the well-known and indubitable secondary meanings of the word R̥tā [properly, 'the correct order of going' or 'the course of things', from *r̥* 'to go'] namely "Order or law prevailing in the material world" "order in the moral world as 'Right'" and "order in the religious world as 'Rite'", the R̥V has also preserved the fundamental

physical sense (the primary meaning) of the word, namely 'the path of the Zodiac', from which the luminaries could not deviate. (d) *paptuḥ*: the perfect can be translated by the present, since its action includes the present especially when (as in our verse) it occurs by the side of actual present forms [in (b) and (c)]; *pārijman* is the locative (used adverbially) of *pārijman*, derivation and translation of which have been correctly given (in the writer's opinion) by Oldenberg (SBE 46. 106):—"The word evidently is connected not with the verb *gam* but with *ksām* 'the earth', of which we find the genitives: *gmāh* and *jmāh*". The Sindhus which are thus described as moving 'so as to encircle the earth' are not terrestrial rivers which could hardly be compared to flying birds, nor rain waters which do not pour down *unceasingly* and cannot be compared to birds, but streams of 'celestial waters' (*elemental watery vapours*), which because of their role in the cosmogony and cosmology of the R̥v, as the creators of the world and as the primeval stuff out of which the universe is created and because of their close association with the sun and his rays and days and their upward movement must be "Cosmic waters" envisaged by the R̥gvedic poets as a medium (like the ether) of the transmission of the Luminaries, by their constant circulation above and below the earth and are therefore described as following the R̥tā (the Zodiacal belt) in their movement.

TRANSLATION II. 28. (5)

Loose (off) sin from me, as if (it were) a cord; let us promote the, aperture (*khā*) of thy R̥tā. O Varuṇa: of me weaving (as I am) a prayer let not the thread snap, nor let the measure of the worker crumble, before its time.

NOTES II. 28. (5)

(a) Cf. I. 24. 14^a where the same verb (*śrath* as here) is used with *enāmsi* (=our *āgaḥ*) and I. 24. 15^{ab} where it is used with *pāsā* (=our *raśanā*). So the two passages together contain all the elements of the simile, in our Pāda (b) In the paper on R̥tā (referred to above), the writer has pointed out that words like *Khā* (here), *śr̥ṅga* (VIII. 86. 5), *budhnā* (III. 61. 7), *prāsiti* (X. 92. 4) etc. used of R̥tā and indicating its *physical configuration or dimensions*—like aperture, peak, bottom and width (respectively), suggest a physical basis (the belt of the Zodiac) for R̥tā. Is there a reference in (c) and (b) to the 'inner content' (thought) and 'external form' (the metre) of poetry (respectively)?

TRANSLATION II. 28. (6)

Disengage (*āpa...myakṣa*) instantly (*u sū*) fear from me, O Varuṇa. Act like a resting-place [*gr̥bhāya*] to me, O Sovereign, O Ruler of R̥tā! Like the halter from a calf, loose sin (from me). (When) far from thee, I certainly do not (*nahī*) command even the closing (of my eyes).

NOTES II. 28. (6)

(a) *āpo* (Pp: *āpo*) *āpa + u*. *u* is an enclitic particle which when employed deictically with verbs expressed the immediate commencement of an action and when followed by *sū* has the sense 'instantly' 'at once' (MGVS 220-1). *myakṣa*: That this root has the meaning of 'holding to or sticking to' (and the opposite of it, with *āpa*) has been shown conclusively by Max Müller (SBE. 32. 185-88). *bhiyāsam* must be read as *bhyāsaṃ* (Olden, aptly compares IX. 19. 6^b).

grbhāya is 2. s. Ipv. of the Denominative (like *śrathaya* in v. 5) of *grbhá*, used in VII. 21. 2^c, in the sense of 'something which holds, a resting-place' and so *ánu grbhāya* cannot mean (in the writer's opinion) *literally*, the very same thing as *ánu grhāṇa* ('favour me'), which will be but a free rendering of it. The Denominative may also mean (see Trans. for one meaning) 'Treat me as a resting-place', 'would treat me', 'be at home with me'. (C) Cf. verse 5^a, I. 24. 13^d, I. 24. 14^d for the use of the verb *muc* and the almost synonymous *śrath* in connection with both: 'Sin and bond'. Particularly interesting is the change of place of the ingredients of virtually one and the same simile: 'Separate the halter *from* the calf' (as in our verse) and 'separate the calf *from* the halter' (in VII. 86. 5^d)! (d) *na-hí* is the compounded form of *ná híz*, which more commonly negatives emphatically a statement as something well-known and amounts to 'by no means' 'certainly not' (MVGS 237); Geldner seems to take it in the less common sense of 'for not' (*denn nicht*), syntactically joining (c) and (d), which also is a possible construction. There is, however, no clear logical connection of ideas between the two pādas. *Cana* (though itself properly meaning 'not even') has the senso of 'even', not only when employed in a supplementary clause after a negative but also in a single clause-sentence, after a negative as in our Pada (MVGS. 229-30).

TRANSLATION II. 28. (7)

(Strike) us not with the weapons, O Varuṇa, which chastise (one) committing sin, in (the course of) thy search (for him). Not from light, may we go (away on) journeys; loose off well, (our) lapses [*mṛdhah*] (from us) that we may live.

NOTES II. 28. (7)

(a) A verb like *jahi* (which follows *vadháhiḥ* in I. 94. 9^a) is to be supplied. A review of all the *īṣi* and *īṣi* passages inclines the writer to take *īṣáu* here, in the sense of 'search' or 'wish' *preferably in the former sense*, because Varuṇa is especially the god who (the ever-watchful one) observes the truth and falsehood of men (VII. 49. 3). The spies again who are stationed for secret investigation in the houses of men were primarily connected with Mitra and Varuṇa; the Iranian Mithra also has spies: (b) Geldner suggests an alternative construction for (a) and (b): 'With the weapons (of those i. e. spies) who injure' etc. probably to avoid the personification of *vadhás* involved in referring *yé* to them. But *vadhá* is personified as *nṛhà* and *gohà* in VII. 56. 17. (d) Although the meaning 'enemies' or 'despisers, scorners' for *mṛdhah* cannot be objected to as unsuitable, the preponderant use of the verb-forms of *śrath* 'to loose' (with or without *vé*) with words denoting 'sins' (I. 24. 15^d; II. 28. 5^a; IV. 12. 4; V. 85. 7; VII. 93. 7) as well as the use with the same of forms of the synonymous verbs *sṛj*. (VII. 86. 5) and *muc* (II. 28. b^o) inclines the writer to understand *mṛdh* in the general sense of 'evil', or 'lapse'. This meaning, besides, is perfectly consistent with that of the root *mṛdh* namely 'to neglect, ignore, leave behind or in the lurch', 'to cease stop, give over' and 'to become inactive'. The Rv rarely speaks of 'enemies' being 'loosed off'!

TRANSLATION II. 28. (8)

An adoration (we addressed) formerly to thee, O Varuṇa and now, as well as, in future, will we address (it), O Strong-born one; for (*hí*) in thee, indeed, as on a rock, abide the (ever-) unshaken *vratás*, O Undeceivable One!

NOTES II. 28. (8)

(b) *aparām* is antithetical to *nūnām* (in I. 189. 4 e. g.). (c) *tvé*: Loc. sing(= *tvá-i*) is really the regular form and the only one, in the R̥V. The irregular *tváyī* begins to appear in the later Samhitās. *Kam* in its unaccented form occurs only in the R̥V, always following the particles, *nú sú hí*, in the sense of 'indeed'. (d) *vrātāni*: In his monograph '*All about Vratā in the R̥gveda*' (BDCRI III) the writer has shown that the R̥V has preserved in many passages the primary or physical sense of *vrātá* (to be derived from the root *vr̥t* and not from *vr̥*), namely 'route, fixed passage or round', which is not to be deviated from by the Luminaries. For Varuṇa, 'the All-coverer' as the bed-rock of the *vrātás*, see notes on I. 24. 10, above.

TRANSLATION II. 28. (9)

Push (*sāvīh*) off (*pārā*), then (*ádha*), the debts incurred by me; may I not enjoy with (what is) made by others. Undawned still (*ní*), are many dawns, to be sure (*it*); ordain us living, O Varuṇa, during those (dawns).

NOTES II. 28. (9)

(a) *ṛná* means 'debt' as well as 'sin' and illustrates in a way, the tendency of the R̥gvedic poets to treat figuratively, a 'material lapse' (like 'a financial debt') as a 'moral' one and *vice versa*, 'a moral lapse' (like 'sin') as a 'material bond' (*páśa*)! In view of the next Páda, *ṛná* should mean here '(financial) debt'. (b) *bhujam*: root Ao. Inj. of *bhuj* which more likely has the sense of 'enjoy' than that of 'to suffer' here as in the majority of its uses in the R̥V. There is great force in the contention of Zimmerman [BSSL VIII²] "*bhuj* with instrumental does not imply anything bad; Sáy. is correct in understanding with *anyá-kṛtena* rather *dhanena* than *enasā*". Geldner (also Prof. Paranjpye) takes it in the sense of 'to atone for' (the wrong doings of others). Compare I. 72. 8, however. (d) *sās* with *ā* may mean 'to wish' 'to hope', when used of mortals but signifies 'to order', 'to direct' when used of the gods, whose 'wishes' are simply 'decrees'! Uṣas is particularly associated with the idea of inspiring living beings (*jīvám*) to activity [I. 92. 9; IV. 51, 5; VII. 77. 1]. à *sādhi* should therefore, indicate 'Conducting, guiding', 'instructing' or 'commending' (people to lead an active life, through the Dawns) rather than 'wishing' or 'hoping' (that they may live), which has no suggestion of a *dynamic* life.

TRANSLATION II. 28. (10)

Whoever, O King, (be he) my associate or friend, in sleep, speaks (of) (any) danger to me, the timorous one, or whoever (be he) a thief who wishes to molest us or a wolf,—*from him*, O Varuṇa do thou protect us.

NOTES II. 28. (10)

The translation is deliberately ambiguous, so as to admit of the same alternative constructions as the original! The possible meanings are: The friend in (a) may be well-meaning and (1) forewarns the poet of some evil portend he himself has dreamt of; (2) or he appears before the poet in a dream (dreamt by the poet) and forewarns the poet of a coming danger; (3) or he may be a *so-called* friend, who utters a threat in a dream (dreamt by the poet); or finally (4) the pseudo-friend frightens him with the announcement of some evil omen

dreamt of by himself (the friend)! In other words the *svápne* might be an experience of the poet-speaker (which is more plausible) or if we supply *dr̥ṣṭam* after *svápne* as Sāyaṇa does, an experience of the friend and further the friend may be well-meaning or ill-meaning, the latter alternative being more probable. (d) *tismāt* refers to the 'thief' or 'wolf' without doubt and must in addition, refer either to the 'associate' or 'friend' in (a); or to the *bhayám* in (b), the construction confusing together the neuter and masculine words: *bhayám* and *stenáḥ* etc. The writer is inclined to think that protection is sought from all sorts of people: from thieves, wolves and pseudo-friends who all play the same 'frightful' role.

TRANSLATION II. 28. (11)

May I not find the want (*śūnam*) of a dear patron, (or) of a freely-giving friend. May I not (have to) stand down (*áva sthā*) from well-controlled wealth. Loudly may we speak at divine worship, (blessed) with doughty hero(-son)s.

NOTES II. 28. (11)

(a) and (b): The construction, (above) is better (in the opinion of the writer) than the one in which *maghónaḥ* (like *bhūridāvnaḥ* and *prīyáśya*) is taken as an adjective qualifying *āpéḥ* and meaning 'bounteous' or 'potent'. *āpéḥ* appears (from a survey of all its uses in the R̥V) to mean 'a friend in need (who is a friend, indeed)'. He seems to be a particularly sincere friend, who gives financial or other help to the poet, by way of Dakṣiṇā or in some other manner and almost enjoys the status of a near relation like a father; cf. I. 26. 3; 31. 16 etc. It is not impossible, (though less probable) to construe the first hemistich as meaning:—'May I not find (i. e. witness) the destitution of my patron or friend'. (c) 'Well-controlled wealth' evidently has reference to the wealth in kine, horses and heroes who should be amenable to discipline.

(d) Geldner gives a very different version of this Pāda: "Wir möchten das grosse Wort führen als Meister in der Weisheit." (May we swagger as Masters in knowledge or philosophy'). *Vidáthe* which he renders as 'Weisheit' 'Wörter der Weisheit', 'weiser Rede' or 'Rede' is evidently derived by him from the root *vid*, 'to know'. Although no categorical statement can be made with regard to the correctness or otherwise of his meaning and etymology of the word, the writer inclines to the derivation (with Oldenberg) from the root *vidh* 'to worship', thus giving it the sense of 'divine worship' or 'cult', and making it almost synonymous with *yajñá*. Compare the *Naighantuka* III. 17. (see Macdonell's *Vedic Reader*, p. 56). Similarly, it is more likely (in the view of the writer) that *su-vīra* is a Bahuvrihi compound meaning 'having or commanding good heroes or champions or hero-sons'. Compare I. 116. 25: *asyá pátih syām sugávaḥ surārah*: 'May I be the master of this (kingdom), possessing good cows (and) commanding good champions or sons'; and II. 40. 6: *rayim no dhatta.....suvīram* = 'Bestow on us wealth abounding in hero-sons'.

